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NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

CHURCHILL VS. CHURCHILL

by Richard O. Boyer

CHINA'S INTERNAL CRISIS

by Frederick V. Field

HITLER CLIMBS THE ROCKIES

by Joseph North

WILLKIE OFF THE RECORD

by Bruce Minton

NATIONAL STAKES IN THE NEW YORK POLLS

by S. W. Gerson

PAUL ROBESON'S OTHELLO

Reviewed by Samuel Sillen

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

YOU will find Editor Joseph North's second column reporting his trip, on page 15 of this issue. That is to say, it reports his observations of the impact of war on a section of America. We'd like, in addition, to pass on to you a letter from him on one of his meetings, held in Los Angeles, at which he spoke on current events and also discussed some of NM's problems and future with the audience. 'They were mostly working people," he writes. "Some came with their work-clothes to go on the swing-shift—you know, with helmets for the shipyards. One man brought me a gift of a basket of oranges; another, a photographer, came with a flashlight camera to take pictures of the meeting to send you. He was an old Spanish veteran. Vets I haven't seen since Spain came, brought their wives, and told me about their kids. The vets are real, solid citizens, hardworking in the war effort where they're not back at the fronts again.

"One little woman got up at the end of the meeting and said: 'I can't keep quiet. I have to tell you about this man here, by my side. He is Harry Weitzman, and he's gotten forty-seven subscriptions for NEW MASSES. I think he deserves credit.' I shook hands with Mr. Weitzman, introduced him to the crowd. He came forward bashfully and said, 'It's my NEW MASSES. Why shouldn't I get subs? I'll get many more too before this drive is over.' All our friends out here, as well as in the Midwest, have been heart-warming. You have no idea of the affection they show for the magazine. . . ."

Editor North will speak in Chicago on Sunday afternoon, October 31, at 3 PM, Hamilton Hotel, 20 South Dearborn Street. Subject: "Thoughts on the Tri-Power Conference."

LAST week we commented on the number of letters we receive, and the number of places from which they came. This week brings, among others, one from a member of the Puerto Rican Senate, Vicente Geigel-Polanco. It is addressed to NM editor Frederick V. Field, and reads, "Dear Mr. Field: I have had the pleasure of reading your article, 'Puerto Rican Ferment,' in NEW MASSES (Sept. 14). Your timely comment on the Puerto Rico Pro-Independence Congress gives a very clear idea of the aims, policy, and social roots of the movement. Allow me to thank you very much for your valuable help to our cause."

Mr. Field, incidentally, was one of the busiest persons in New York last Sunday afternoon, October 24. It happened at the Ben Davis Victory Show, which overflowed the big Golden Gate Ballroom and also filled the Renaissance Casino a few blocks away, with the result that there were two Victory Shows running simultaneously. And Field, as co-chairman of the Citizens Committee to Elect Ben Davis, Jr., to the City Council, officiated at both shows, rushing back and forth like the Grand Central-Times Square shuttle. It was a wonderful show (both of them) with a spirit and enthusiasm that constituted a tremendous tribute to Candidate Davis.

WE CALL your attention to a new NM feature on page 19 of this issue: "Slings and Arrows," a column of political items from here and there, gathered and written by "Partisan." We hope to publish the column as often as possible. Please tell us what you think about it.

We'd also like, for once, to call your attention on this page to a publication that has no direct relationship to NM—to wit, a book called "This Is Your Union," by the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America (CIO), detailing the story of the workers, their relation to the war, their problems as workers, etc. It is a beautifully turned out job, in both text and illustrations.

Have You Answered Him?

HAVE you forgotten something today? That piece of string around your finger — what was it supposed to remind you of? Why, of course, that letter from R. Palme Dutt. If you're a subscriber, you received that letter in the mail. And all of you saw it reprinted in the October 19 issue of **New Masses.** Have you answered it yet? "We must see," wrote the editor of the British "Labour Monthly," that the mighty force which is represented by our free press is sustained and strengthened. This is no mere appeal for a journal, but an appeal for a serious contribution to the victory of our common cause by helping strengthen an organ of the future." Have **you** gotten that new subscriber yet?

Lots have. Just the other day came this letter from Mrs. J. E. S. of Portland, Me., with five new subs: "I was thrilled to get the letter from R. Palme Dutt. I felt that I wouldn't be able to look myself in the face unless I answered his appeal for new subscriptions to NM. We had some people over at our house a few nights ago to celebrate our tenth wedding anniversary. I didn't think I could do it, but I got five of them to subscribe. My husband says my technique has it all over the Fuller brush people."

We have no doubt that every reader can do at least one-fifth as well as Mrs. J.E.S. and get one new sub. If enough of you do, we'll be able to reach our goal of 5,000 new subscriptions by January 1. Don't put it off. R. Palme Dutt in far-off London is waiting for your answer.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Frontlines

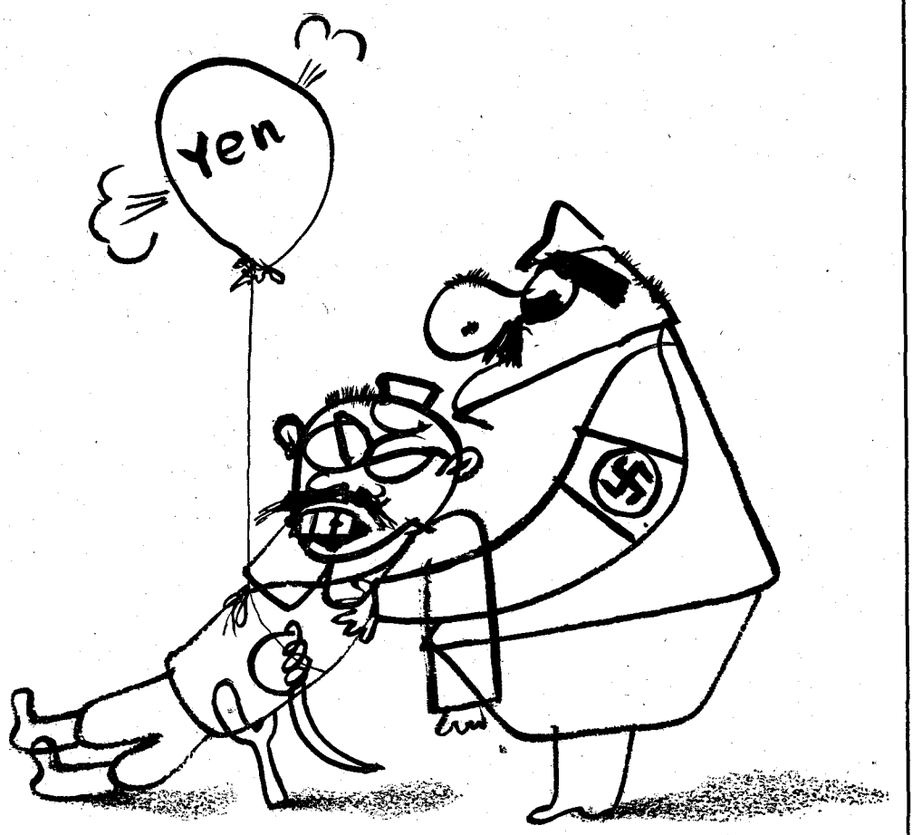
IT WOULD seem strange indeed if Moscow passed a quiet night without the roaring of victory guns. But more, the salvos from cannon that announced the repossession of Melitopol and Dniepropetrovsk was the sweetest background music for the continuing three-power conference. Confirmed again was the bankruptcy of Nazi strategy and impending was a debacle greater than that which the Wehrmacht faced at Stalingrad. As Marshal Stalin put it, the Melitopol triumph pulverized the "strategic defense center in the southern sector barring the approaches to the Crimea along the lower course of the Dnieper." Berlin plunged thousands of reserves into the battle, knowing that Melitopol's collapse would open wider the door of doom. With Melitopol out of the way the Russians are rolling on the road to the Crimea. Across the Dnieper south of Kremenchug they are also pushing hard and menacing the last German railway communication in the Dnieper's lower loop. This rail bottleneck is the only avenue of escape left to the Nazis. A successful pincer move would mean the encirclement of what has been estimated to be a million German troops. Knowing what is at stake, the Nazis have been pouring thousands of troops from the West into the east to halt the Red steamroller.

IN EFFECT the Russian drive has been of the greatest assistance to the American Fifth and British Eighth Armies in Italy by making it almost impossible for the Germans to transfer more troops from France into the peninsula. General Clark has not had easy going. Mud, bad weather, transport difficulties have impeded his gallant march forward. The roads to Rome are paved with mines and the Germans are retreating in fairly good order. At this writing General Montgomery's forces have pierced the Trigno River line on the eastern Adriatic front. In sum, the Nazis are having some success with their delaying tactics and the campaign towards the Italian capital is proving to be slow and costly.

As for the battle in the Pacific, we are scoring enormous victories from the air. Our planes in the area north of Finschhafen and in New Guinea have halted Japanese attempts to reach the sea. In six days Allied fliers have shot down 192 planes bringing the Japanese losses in aircraft to 1,300 in two months—a remarkable record when it is compared to our extremely small losses.

BUT to get back to the Eastern Front again, the pitch and tenacity of the Red Army's exploits are even greater than what we have seen heretofore. There is no relinquishment of pressure no matter the difficulties of terrain or maneuver. The Russians recognize that Hitler is trying to convert time into an ally and therefore every moment must be used to the fullest in exacting retribution. For our sake we could wish that this alert sense of tempo, of time, were shared by others among the Allied leadership. In a London Guildhall speech last week South Africa's Premier Field Marshal, Jan Smuts, acknowledged that we have climbed out of the depths and are moving forward but that it would not be until next year (when the leaves turn green again?) that the grand assault against the continent would be launched. Unintentionally, of course, and inadvertently the Wehrmacht thereby gains assurance that it need have no anxiety over an immediate onslaught from the west although something may happen in the Balkans in the remaining months of 1943.

In the East, Hitler frenziedly hunts for time to save him from utter rout; in the west, postponement of decisive events gives him the confidence that he can perhaps still



News Item: According to Japanese officials, German collapse would not affect the Japanese much, as Japan is prepared to stand alone.

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surmount the Nazi crisis. Here is the tragic divergence of Allied strategy that in the accounting of war leaves a tally of needless sacrifices both on the part of our armed forces and of the European peoples. The time Hitler wins while quiet reigns over his northwestern ramparts makes it possible for him to round up whatever men are left in Germany, to squeeze a few more divisions out of his satellites, to rebuild the bomb-shattered factories and to kidnap and enslave more European workers to man them. The dictates of common sense—perhaps not so common in some high quarters—would rule that the Nazi debacle at the Dnieper bend be exploited by opening a front in the west now. For if, as everyone readily admits, the Germans' most threatening weapon is a prolonged war, it would be the summit of wisdom to shorten it. Were politics not to intervene, this would be inexorable logic. And it may yet prevail at an earlier moment than planned if popular forces marshal themselves behind it.

This insensitivity to timing was the singular shortcoming of Premier Smuts' speech. It did, however, possess the virtue of redefining global strategy. As if in direct reply to our peripatetic senators who travelled much and learned little, he noted that victory over Hitler first "will have far-reaching repercussions in the Far East... Indeed the fall of Germany may mark the beginning of a cataclysmic turn of events in the Pacific and of the early ending of the war thereafter."

Badoglio's New Policy

AN INTERVIEW of the utmost significance was given to correspondents of the New York *Times*, the Baltimore *Sun*, and the *Times* of London on October 20 by the head of the Italian government, Marshal Pietro Badoglio. Its significance lies in the degree to which the necessities of coalition warfare, pressure from the five-party anti-fascist coalition within Italy and from Great Britain, the United States, and the USSR have forced the Badoglio government to change its position so that it is more closely in line with the interests of the United Nations.

Of greatest interest is the Marshal's recognition, belated though it is, of the democratic forces in Italy. He points out that in spite of the fascists' cruel repression for twenty-one years the progressive forces were never obliterated. In fact, "In recent years they went on gradually reorganizing themselves, attracting and educating the youth, which is naturally intolerant of restraint on freedom of thought." Badoglio names these progressive political groups: the Liberal, Christian-Social, Socialist, and Communist Parties, and the Party of Action. He explains that they "have now coalesced into a common front," and that the purpose of all is to collaborate with the Americans and British to drive the Germans and fascism from the country. This is a far cry from Badoglio's statement of only a week before in which he clung to the well-known fascist slogan calling for a crusade to save Italy from Communism. The Marshal's interview represents an important forward step. It marks a distinct victory for the Italian people and for the influence of the United Nations which has been brought to bear upon him. It is also a stunning rebuke to the Luigi Antonini coterie in this country. Mr. Antonini and his Red-baiters have spread the myth that the five-party coalition is the product of Moscow and that the Communists are seeking to establish soviets on the peninsula. Badoglio's statement once and for all shatters the fantastic lie that the Communists are not part of the Italian liberation forces.

BADOGLIO specifically renounces all territorial ambitions in France, Yugoslavia, and Greece. "These claims," he says, "were of purely fascist conception." It is interesting to note that the question put to him by the correspondents, to which this was the answer, specifically mentioned only those three nations. The question as well as the answer failed to mention Albania, which Mussolini had occupied in fascist Italy's most blustering days. It is obvious that Badoglio's renunciation of territorial ambitions must be understood to include that small country. And it goes without saying that the former Italian colonies in Africa must never again fall under Italian domination but, instead, must be accorded the right to self-determination as guaranteed by the Atlantic Charter.

Marshal Badoglio has more clearly than heretofore pledged himself to a policy of self-determination in Italy. "As soon as hostilities cease," he promises, "I will resign as head of the government to allow an exclusively political ministry for the purpose of holding elections throughout the country." Provided that the fascist culprits and their machinery have been meanwhile thoroughly exterminated and the five-party coalition given every opportunity to rally the country, Italy will be assured a government which genuinely meets the needs of the democratic masses. A progressive policy is now a matter of public record. It remains for the representatives of the United Nations coalition working hand in hand with the Italian people to see that the policy is carried forward without hesitation and without concessions to appeaser elements within that country, in Washington, or anywhere else.

Royal Reaction

THERE is good reason for concern over recent dispatches that civil strife has broken out among Greek guerrillas. Gen. Sir Henry Wilson, British military chief in the Middle East, is reported to have appealed to them to submerge their differences for the mutual goal of fighting the enemy. If there is any truth to these stories it would seem that the culprits responsible are those centered around King George in Cairo. Every other report whose authenticity is beyond question, particularly the one made public in this country through the *Greek National Herald* on September 24, presents a picture of harmonious relations among the three guerrilla units, the largest and most active of which is the army of the National Liberation Front (EAM).

Recently a delegation representing the EAM appeared in Cairo with a letter for the Greek cabinet which noted that the underground would not countenance the King's return until the Greek people had decided the kind of government they wanted; the underground also charged George with responsibility for the dictatorship of August 1936, and described his supporters as comprising solely those who had turned the country over to the Nazis in 1941. The cabinet agreed that the King absent himself until a popular verdict had been issued. Despite this mass repudiation the King has other plans endorsed by some British tory circles. Mr. Churchill, shortly after the Quebec meeting, uttered words of cheer for him which undoubtedly caused dismay among all the underground formations. George apparently now feels that with outside assistance he can through civil disruption undermine the forces opposed to his reign. For this kind of plotting he has a classic model in the operations of Mikhailovich and the Yugoslav government-in-exile. It would not surprise us at all if shortly there appears a Greek "Mikhailovich" propped up by the King to divide the guerrillas while he plays the role of regal "conciliator" in his own shady interests.

Not Franco's Spain

THE disservice to humanity done by Archbishop Spellman in his *Collier's* article defending Franco and the brutal regime in Spain has been magnificently answered by nine distinguished Spanish professors temporarily exiled in Cuba. "You have made a most rapid trip through Spain," they have written the Archbishop. "Your position and personality were an obstacle to your admission into the intimacy of the country. Credulity could have led you to form conclusions without a knowledge of what the Spanish people are and wish to be, in spite of the scrupulous re-

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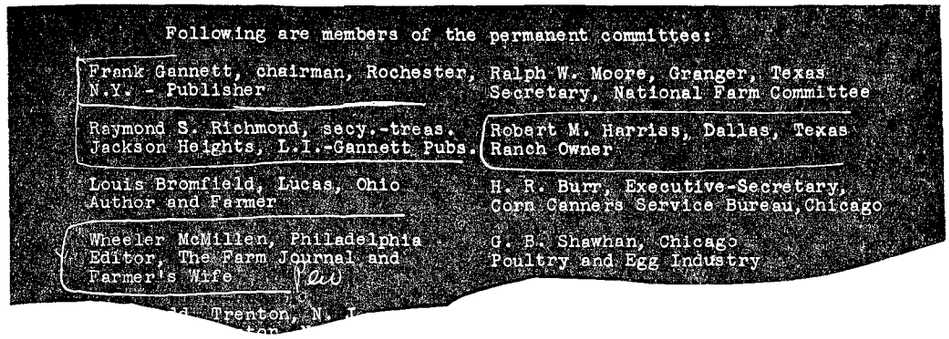
Coughlin's Boys

AT THE right (top) is a photostat of a news release announcing the appointment of a Committee on Future Conferences as an aftermath of the National Food Conference, held in Chicago, September 16 to 17, under the aegis of Frank E. Gannett, reactionary New York publisher and former vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee. It will be noted that one of the members of the committee is Robert M. Harriss, listed as a ranch owner of Dallas, Texas. The "ranch" that Harriss customarily operates from is, however, located at 60 Beaver Street, in New York's financial district. For this is the same Robert M. Harriss, who was for years—and possibly still is—one of the chief financial supporters and political advisers of the notorious fascist and anti-Semite, Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Mich. Harriss' association with Coughlin goes back eleven years, as is indicated in the accompanying reproduction from the official biography of the Michigan Goebbels by his secretary and lobbyist, Louis B. Ward. It was Harriss who in 1934 helped Coughlin engineer his speculative purchase of 500,000 ounces of silver.

Harriss is a partner of the brokerage firm of Harriss & Vose and is a former governor of the New York Cotton Exchange. He owns a 230-acre farm in Wilbarger County, Texas, but his neighbors have not seen him there for years. He was at one time a leader of the Committee for the Nation, a big business outfit that crusaded for inflationary measures. The secretary of the Committee for the Nation was Dr. Edward A. Rumely, who in World War I was sentenced to a year in jail as a German agent. In 1937 Rumely teamed up with Gannett when the latter organized the Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government (now called the Committee for Constitutional Government) as the successor of the Liberty League. Rumely became secretary of the new committee. In his book, *Under Cover*, which Gannett sought unsuccessfully to suppress, John Roy Carlson writes that Glen Hancock, assistant secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government, told him that "Back in 1937 when we first started, we solicited Father Coughlin's support. . . . We supplied Father Coughlin with all the statistics and he published them in *Social Justice*."

The National Food Conference is Gannett's latest pressure lobby. It was organized with the cooperation of the Congressional "farm bloc" as part of a campaign to undermine the administration's food program and its efforts to stabilize the economy. Invitations to the conference were sent out by Sen. Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma (not to be confused with Elbert D. Thomas of Utah), another former Coughlin intimate and connoisseur in the speculative virtues of silver. Also on Gannett's Committee on Future Conferences is Wheeler McMillen, editor of the *Farm Journal and Farmer's Wife*, a publication with a circulation of 2,700,000 owned by the Republican boss of Pennsylvania, Joseph N. Pew, head of the Sun Shipbuilding Co., vice-president of Sun Oil, and a leader of the du Pont-Pew clique in the National Association of Manufacturers. C. Chester Dumond, Governor Dewey's state Commissioner of Agriculture and Markets, is also a member of this committee.



Following are members of the permanent committee:

Frank Gannett, chairman, Rochester, N.Y. - Publisher

Ralph W. Moore, Granger, Texas Secretary, National Farm Committee

Raymond S. Richmond, secy.-treas. Jackson Heights, L.I.-Gannett Pubs.

Robert M. Harriss, Dallas, Texas Ranch Owner

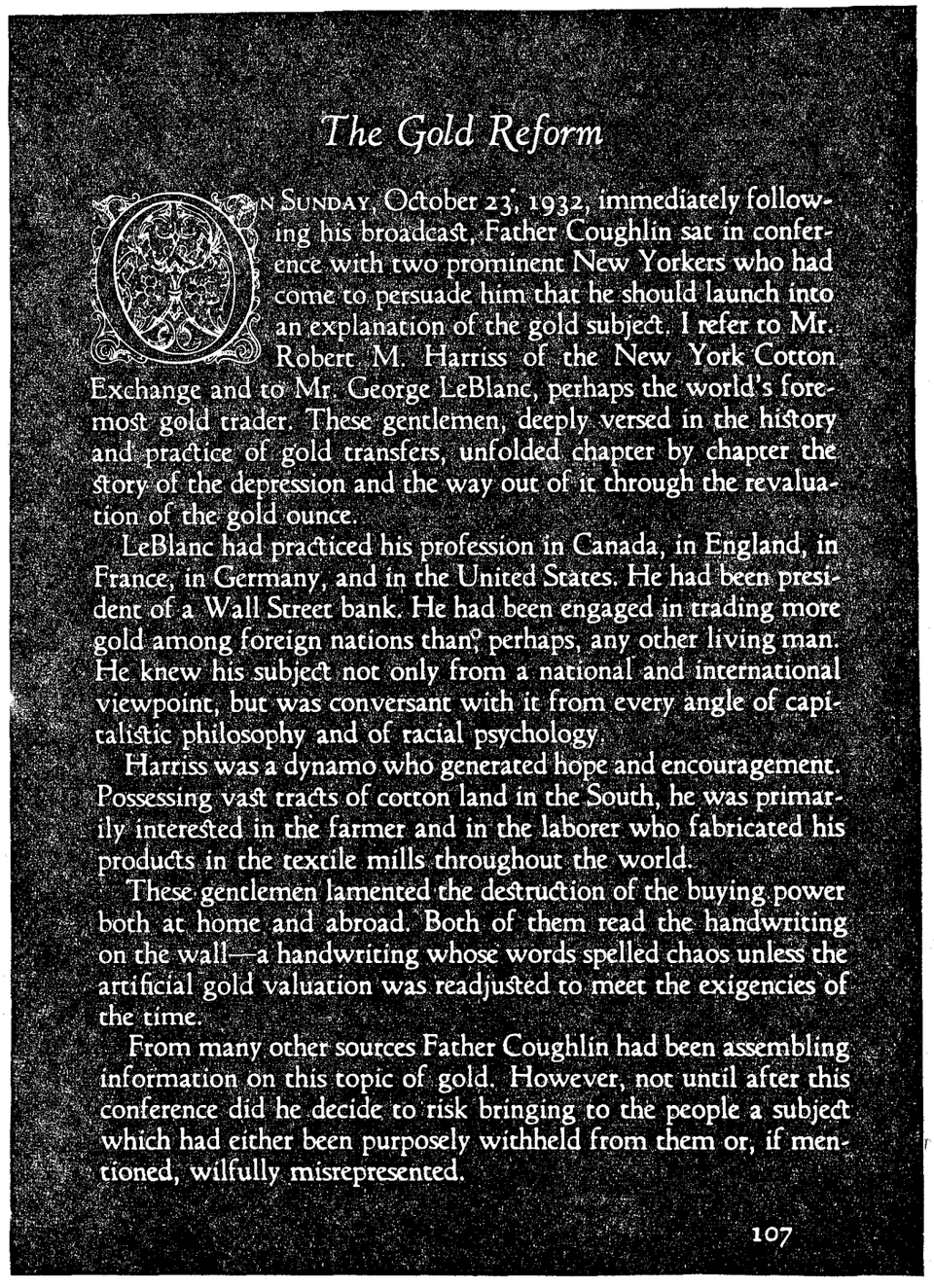
Louis Bromfield, Lucas, Ohio Author and Farmer

H. R. Burr, Executive-Secretary, Corn Canners Service Bureau, Chicago

Wheeler McMillen, Philadelphia Editor, The Farm Journal and Farmer's Wife

G. B. Shawhan, Chicago Poultry and Egg Industry

Trenton, N.



The Gold Reform

ON SUNDAY, October 23, 1932, immediately following his broadcast, Father Coughlin sat in conference with two prominent New Yorkers who had come to persuade him that he should launch into an explanation of the gold subject. I refer to Mr. Robert M. Harriss of the New York Cotton Exchange and to Mr. George LeBlanc, perhaps the world's foremost gold trader. These gentlemen, deeply versed in the history and practice of gold transfers, unfolded chapter by chapter the story of the depression and the way out of it through the revaluation of the gold ounce.

LeBlanc had practiced his profession in Canada, in England, in France, in Germany, and in the United States. He had been president of a Wall Street bank. He had been engaged in trading more gold among foreign nations than, perhaps, any other living man. He knew his subject not only from a national and international viewpoint, but was conversant with it from every angle of capitalistic philosophy and of racial psychology.

Harriss was a dynamo who generated hope and encouragement. Possessing vast tracts of cotton land in the South, he was primarily interested in the farmer and in the laborer who fabricated his products in the textile mills throughout the world.

These gentlemen lamented the destruction of the buying power both at home and abroad. Both of them read the handwriting on the wall—a handwriting whose words spelled chaos unless the artificial gold valuation was readjusted to meet the exigencies of the time.

From many other sources Father Coughlin had been assembling information on this topic of gold. However, not until after this conference did he decide to risk bringing to the people a subject which had either been purposely withheld from them or, if mentioned, wilfully misrepresented.

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(*Continued from page 4*)

spect of Your Eminence for the Eighth Commandment of the Law of God." Pointing out that in his published letters there was "a large amount of false data," these Spanish loyalists suggest that Spellman might well have visited Spanish jails, concentration camps there and in France, or labor camps in Africa. Such observations, they say, "would have given Your Eminence a more humane, more charitable, and fairer view." Among those who signed the letters were Jose Giral, a former Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic, and Mariano Ruiz Funes, a Minister of Justice. The rest held positions in Spain's universities.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is now distributing in this country a report on Spain containing the very latest information secured from confidential sources. It conveys the frightful news that more than a million men and women have been killed by Franco. One and one-half million loyalists are confined in jails, concentration camps, and labor battalions, to endure overcrowding, hunger, unsanitary conditions, and torture. As the report says, "Franco's Spanish fascism is no less brutal than Hitler's." Nevertheless, Spain lives on. Its heroic people have kept the flame of democracy burning. The Nazis cannot stop sabotage; guerrillas, based on the mountainous regions of the Asturias, are active; illegal newspapers find their way even through prison walls. In the determination of these Spanish loyalists lies the future of Spain.

A petition is being circulated by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee which deserves the widest possible support. Addressed to President Roosevelt, it appeals to our government to use its good services in behalf of: (1) the freedom of the 1,500,000 Spanish republicans in Franco's jails; (2) the freedom of the many international anti-fascists still imprisoned in the Mirando de Ebro jail in Spain; (3) an arrangement by which all United States food shipments to Spain are distributed among the Spanish people and administered by an impartial committee on which the Red Cross and other accredited relief organizations shall be represented. We hope that countless Americans will sign this document.

India in the News

WITHIN a period of a few weeks the following events bearing directly upon the problem of India have occurred. Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander in southeast Asia, has arrived to organize the anticipated invasion of Burma and points east and south. He has flown to Chungking and held conferences with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Lieut. Gen. Joseph W. Stillwell, Commander and Chief of Staff, respectively, of Allied Forces in China. Viscount Wavell, in a ceremony steeped in medieval pageantry, has been sworn in as the nineteenth Viceroy and Governor-General of India. India's worst famine in seventy years has grown more acute as the government's scores of price-control and rationing decrees imposed from on high are rendered futile by the British inability to secure the confidence of the people. And—to no one's surprise—the Japanese enemy selects the moment to announce the formation of "a provisional Government of India," under Subhas Chandra Bose, now located in Singapore. The phony government's first step, we are told, is to declare war on Great Britain and the United States.

ISN'T there something very familiar about this pattern of events? Is it not so familiar, indeed, that its basic outlines could easily have been predicted eighteen months or two years ago—and in fact were predicted by those who knew Britain's intransigent colonial policy would only worsen conditions? Today the tragedy of the policy is full upon us. At the very time that India is being prepared as a great military base for vast operations against the Japanese and their puppets, thousands of Indians are dying of starvation each week, the country remains critically disunited, the great mass of people have gained not one iota of confidence in the British war effort, and the potential war resources of one of the largest nations in the world remain immobilized. As if to caricature the whole sorry performance the Japanese set up their own "provisional government of India"!

Must the war continue to be fought the hardest, the longest, the most inefficient and wasteful way? Must we incessantly play into the hands of the enemy? It seems to us that President Roosevelt's recent dictum, "Nations, like individuals, make mistakes," might be applied to the treatment of India and the whole Pacific colonial world.

Railroad Headaches

IN HIS speech before civic and labor groups in Dallas, Tex., Vice-President Wallace has drawn up an impressive indictment of the owners and managers of the country's railroads. Most of Mr. Wallace's charges and data are not new. As he himself points out, "The people of the West and South have long fought against discriminatory freight rates." And other monopolistic abuses that Mr. Wallace cites have also long been the subject of public protest and study. Yet, for all the soundness of the Vice-President's case against the railroads, his speech has a distinctly academic flavor. Most of it, in fact, might have been made five years ago without changing a syllable. For, aside from the two opening sentences, the speech contains not a single reference to the war.

The railroads happen to be the indispensable arteries of our nation's vast war effort. There is a great deal wrong with their functioning that is directly harmful to the war. And much of what's wrong stems from the monopolistic abuses that Mr. Wallace cites. Yet he has failed to relate his thinking to the problem immediately at hand. Had the Vice-President adopted a different approach he would, instead of drawing up a general all-embracing bill of indictment, have limited himself to those practices that impede the war effort. He would not have overlooked, for example, the question of pooling terminal and other facilities in order to make possible the more efficient movement of cargo. And above all, he would not, in an address before labor groups, have ignored the key problem of railroad labor's role.

Last June A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, charged that mishandling of crews at away-from-home terminals had resulted in wasting manpower "at a terrific rate." The railroads have been cool to all proposals for labor-management committees, though Director Joseph B. Eastman of the Office of Defense Transportation has urged their establishment "to improve service and conserve manpower." Another example of a wrong policy toward labor that impairs the railroads' war efficiency is the ruling of Director of Economic Stabilization Fred M. Vinson granting only a four cents an hour increase to the workers despite the fact that a special fact-finding board appointed by President Roosevelt had recommended an eight-cent raise.

We like the spirit of Vice-President Wallace's speeches and their honest concern with the kind of world in which the common man can live free from all fear and oppression. But he is ill-advised in leaving to others the solution of the war's pressing problems without which nothing can be solved in the peace.

Jim-Crow Abroad

WHAT decent American did not feel ashamed last week when he read the Associated Press dispatch from Liverpool which announced, "Britain's first community for Negroes is to be opened at Liverpool under the sponsorship of the Colonial Office which has provided $12,000 for the purchase of the premises"? Great Britain's record on the question of racial equality is

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nothing to boast about as any one who has traveled in India and other colonies well knows. But in the British Isles, at least, there has been relative freedom from discrimination and segregation. Until the US Army moved in with its Jim-Crow policies, American and other Negroes were free to move about and live in equality with their white brothers. Now we learn that for the first time the British government is officially adopting a segregation policy—and a "community for Negroes" can have no other meaning.

Apologists for the hateful policy of segregation in our armed forces argue that to abolish it would alienate important elements in the South and promote disunity. Just turn the argument around and ask: "Will not the enforcement of Jim-Crow throughout the nation and throughout the world wherever the American Army and Navy appear alienate and disunite infinitely more people than would have been disturbed by its elimination?" Moreover, is not the principle of Jim-Crow directly opposed to the purposes for which the war is being fought?

Consider for a moment the consequences of Jim-Crow abroad as revealed by this news from Liverpool. Once the principle of race segregation has been accepted, where will it stop? In Great Britain can it be limited to American Negroes; will it not inevitably spread to other colored people? We sincerely hope the consequences will not be so far-reaching, but already vast damage to national and international unity has been done. It can be undone only by speeding up the present painfully slow program of improving the status of the American Negro, particularly in the armed services. For this nothing short of vigorous leadership by the President will suffice.

Romain Rolland

CONTRADICTORY reports from Nazi sources leave some doubt as to whether Romain Rolland is dead or whether he is still suffering the death-in-life of a fascist concentration camp. The world mourns his tragic fate and renews its determination to wipe out the monsters who systematically destroyed him. It is painful to reconcile oneself to the departure of this noble anti-fascist writer whose name will forever be linked with titans like Gorky, Barbusse, and Nexo as one of the supreme representatives of human culture in our time.

Born at Clamecy, France, on January 29, 1866, Rolland was proud of his descent from one of the "Apostles of Reason" in the French Revolution. As dramatist, essayist, novelist, professor of music, and political fighter, he devoted himself to the ideal of a free and just society of nations. In politics he described himself as a republican with advanced Socialist sympathies, an internationalist at heart, a citizen of the

Sedition's Weapon

THEY are schoolchildren, little fellows with the swagger of youth and the eager appetite for living and for growing up to be men and women in the great nation where each dreams of performing great deeds. They went to school around the corner, away from others of their own age, because their skins were black. But their parents are Americans, and full of intense belief in this democracy. They fought segregation—and they won for their children the right to attend the main school with the rest of the town's youth. The bigots fumed. They forced the white kids out of the public school, transferring them, boys and girls alike, to a private institution near by which was licensed for boys only. Those white parents unable to pay the tuition were subsidized by racists. And all this happened not in 1850 but just the other day during the war for national survival, during the war against the Nazi master race and the Japanese supermen. All this happened not in the benighted deep South, but in New York state, in the deep North at the little town named Hillburn.

Farther north, more schoolchildren, boys and girls in the suburbs of Boston, the great city that cradled the American Revolution, are set upon and beaten by gangs of bullies egged on by their pogromist elders. The school children are terrorized because they are "different," not to the naked eye or by any scientific test, but by being labeled "Jew." The Nazis massacre and burn; in the midst of the war to purge the world of Hitlerism, the scourge of Hitlerism is felt within the fortress of our own homes.

The enemy lives among us, wielding the secret weapon of racism. As our armies advance abroad, the enemy redoubles the attempts to divide America, to negate the successes of our armed forces. Hillburn and Massachusetts—and Detroit and Los Angeles and Beaumont and Mobile. In Massachusetts, Governor Saltonstall belatedly sees the menace and promises defensive action. But the mayor of Boston dismisses the invasion of Nazism with bland irresponsibility: "It appears to be a strictly juvenile situation." Once the Nazi terror in Berlin was laughed away with official reassurances. State authorities hesitate to intervene against Jim-Crow and Jew-baiting—while Nazism (calling itself the Ku Klux Klan or the Christian Front or Social Justice or by the color of a shirt) strengthens itself through such procrastination.

The Hillburn and Massachusetts shame threatens not alone the localities where the effects are first felt, but the entire nation. The challenge is to all of us. There are many weapons at hand to fight this evil, weapons at the disposal of every one of us. The imperative need is for action by every community, every individual. The demand must swell for congressional passage of the Dickstein-Lynch bills banning all literature from the mails designed to cause racial or religious hatred. National backing must be given to the citizens' committees fighting Jim-Crow in Hillburn, anti-Semitism in Massachusetts, intolerance anywhere. Councilman Cacchione's offensive against the racists in New York City can be pushed. The President should be urged to sweep aside Attorney General Biddle's cowardly justification of racial bigotry and to see to it that the Department of Justice apprehends the traitors busily organizing and spreading racism in any form. The Senate can be made to approve the anti-poll tax bill NOW. And the ending of all discrimination in the armed forces would be equivalent to a major victory over the Axis on the battlefront.

The challenge is to each of us individually. We can enlist the full power of our government—local, state, national—to end the racist sedition that would divide our nation and imperil our ability to prosecute the war.

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world who always fought social injustice. By 1913 he had published his great novel *Jean-Cristophe* as well as a series of dramas and studies of artistic figures like Beethoven, Michelangelo, Handel, and Tolstoy. He won the French Academy award and the Nobel Prize for literature. After the first world war, which he opposed in his *Above the Conflict* as an unjust war, he was savagely hounded by French reaction. This opposition was intensified when he took up the fight against Hitlerism and helped organize the writers of the world for struggle against fascism. In 1935 he visited Moscow, where he was the guest of his friend Maxim Gorky and where he met Joseph Stalin. Rolland was a genuine friend of the Soviet Union, which he recognized as the foremost fighter for humanity in our century.

The Nazis had every reason to fear this figure who had become a great symbol of democratic and humanistic idealism. His fate will be avenged with the total annihiliation of the savage beast which Romain Rolland, despite his age and illness, unwaveringly fought to the end.

GUEST EDITORIAL

by Sen. Elbert D. Thomas

SENATE BILL 637

The guest editorial below was written by Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah before the Senate Bill 637 was shelved by the treachery of the reactionary clique in the upper house. However, discussion of the measure to raise educational standards by a system of federal subsidy remains pertinent, because its sponsors plan to revive it at the earliest opportunity.

For many years the nation's leading educational authorities, among whom Senator Thomas is to be numbered, have sought ways in which the standards of public education, especially in the poorer regions, could be raised. This laudable objective was on the verge of success two weeks ago when the reactionary bloc, led by Senators Langer and Taft, pulled one of the rottenest demagogic tricks Congress has seen in years. Here is how they worked it: knowing that the southern senators, representing relatively poor states, would vote for the bill, Langer introduced an amendment banning racial, religious or other discrimination in the expenditure not only of the federal funds but of the state funds they would supplement. The amendment carried. The southern senators thereupon joined the northern reactionaries to recommit the bill to the committee.

That this seemingly progressive amendment was nothing but a device to assure defeat of the bill is evident not only from its sponsorship, but also because it went directly contrary to the advice of those most interested in ending discrimination. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had wired Senator Langer before he introduced his amendment that the Association was opposed to it because it would destroy the possibility of a favorable vote on the question of a federal educational subsidy. In proposing the amendment, however, Langer deliberately lied, telling his colleagues that it had the approval of the NAACP. It was only after Senate Bill 637, with the amendment attached, had been voted down that the truth came out. The job now is to gain the widest possible exposure of the Langer-Taft treachery, as well as to win increased public support for the terms of the original measure.—The Editors.

SENATE BILL 637 provides funds with which to make possible assistance to the states, at the same time guaranteeing state and local control of education. This bill unequivocally safeguards state and local control of public schools. In section one it declares:

"No department agency, or officer of the United States shall exercise any supervision or control over any school or state educational agency with respect to which any funds are expended pursuant to this act, nor shall any term or condition of any agreement under this act relating to any contribution made under this act to or on behalf of any school or state educational agency authorize any agency or officer of the United States to control the administration, personnel, curriculum, instruction, methods of instruction, or materials of instruction."

Senate bill 637 reaffirms faith in the people back home by writing into the law the principle of federal aid to public education without impairing state and local control. For more than a century the principle of federal aid without federal control has been successfully embodied in American educational practice. Land-grants aids, beginning with Ohio in 1803 and the two Morrill acts of 1862 and 1890, prove that important federal assistance without federal encroachment upon state and local government is an arrangement which on the basis of our national experience can be and should be continued.

Opposition, based on the claim that S. 637 gives the federal government control of public education, fails to apprehend one of the chief objectives sought by this bill—the nonfederalization of our public school system. The way to prevent that development is to prohibit its occurrence through law. If our national experience proves anything at all, it is that federal control does not thus follow when the law forbids. The issue is just as clear as that, and Congress, not a bureau in Washington, will determine what the policy shall be.

The enactment of Senate bill 637 will accomplish two great objectives—it will extend aid to meet existing emergencies in public education, and it will go a long way toward equalizing educational opportunities among the states by making a minimum acceptable school program possible in every section of the country.

THE purpose of the proposed legislation is to enable states and their local public school jurisdictions to meet emergencies in financing their public elementary and public secondary schools by providing funds for the payment of the salaries of teachers to keep schools open, to employ additional teachers to relieve overcrowded classes, to raise substandard salaries of teachers to meet the increased cost of living. For this purpose the bill authorizes to be appropriated for each fiscal year in which Congress shall find a need therefor $200,000,000 to be apportioned to the states on the basis of the average daily attendance of pupils attending all types of elementary and public secondary schools. The amount apportioned to each state from the funds appropriated will be an amount which

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bears the same ratio to the total amount made available that the average daily attendance of pupils attending public elementary and public secondary schools in that state bears to the total of such average daily attendance for all the states.

For the purpose of more nearly equalizing public elementary and public secondary school opportunities among and within the states the bill authorizes to be appropriated $100,000,000 to be apportioned to the states on the basis of two factors—first, the number of children between the ages of five and seventeen years to be educated, and second, the financial resources within the state adequate to educate those children. The formula is so written that the lower the income of a state the greater the amount of money that state will receive in proportion to the number of children to be educated.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

WILLKIE OFF THE RECORD

Washington.

WENDELL WILLKIE's off-the-record speech last week to the freshmen Republicans and other invited members of the House has created a minor sensation. The secret has been made much of—undoubtedly to whet the appetites of anyone who might care to listen to the innumerable leaks that are flooding Washington. For the benefit of those who want to know what Willkie was up to, I record the reports coming my way of the Hotel Continental dinner.

The speech, entitled "The Loss of Our Freedoms," was Willkie's first prepared address since 1940 that attacked President Roosevelt and the New Deal without reservations. The tenor of Willkie's remarks can best be summarized in his own words: "The New Deal," Willkie cried, "is not fascism. It is not Nazism. It is not Communism. It is sabotage!" Willkie took time to add a few critical remarks about those members of his own party who made the mistake of too blatantly showing their hostility to organized labor. "The Republicans are fools to line up with the southern poll-tax Democrats," he said in effect. "They'll cut your throat the first chance they get. Hostility to labor is political childishness when carried to the lengths it was allowed to go in passing the Smith-Connally bill. The Republican Party won't get any place without some support from labor, and the sooner the Party begins to understand this fact of life, the better for all of us."

THE meeting lasted four hours, with most of the 125 to 150 guests enraptured. When Willkie asked for questions, he prefaced his invitation with the gibe that he understood many of those present had come prepared to embarrass him, coached for the occasion by Edgar M. Queeny, multi-millionaire St. Louis chemical manufacturer, who is boss of the Missouri Republican Party. Though two Missouri members denied this allegation in voices spilling over with injured innocence, Wat Arnold of the First Missouri District (who happens to be friendly to Willkie) called out that Willkie's information was correct and that he had been coached to ask several questions which were supposed to floor the speaker. In fact, all fifteen sticklers first presented to Willkie by the Missouri Republicans before his St. Louis speech had been carefully planted around the dining room on one or another delegate.

The questions answered by Willkie in Washington included:

1. Are you a candidate for President? Willkie shrugged and remarked that he hadn't said yes and he hadn't said no. (Laughter.) What he was mainly interested in was the defeat of Roosevelt which he considered imperative if the nation was to avoid losing all its precious freedoms. Such a loss of American liberty would be inevitable if Roosevelt were reelected for a fourth term.

2. To questions on the Soviet Union, Willkie explained that we should not expect Russia to present us with bases for an attack on Japan. Russia, he added, could not be expected to fight two wars at once. The Red Army was putting everything it had into the battle with Germany. If the USSR gave bases to the US, the Soviets would be immediately involved in war with Japan.

3. On the subject of lend-lease, Willkie made it clear that he is not satisfied with the way it is being handled. He accused the President of making far too many commitments which have not been fulfilled, thus creating what Willkie termed a bad reaction abroad.

4. When asked whether he would support any candidate nominated in 1944 by the Republicans, Willkie replied with a vigorous "No!"—not if that candidate were Col. Bertie McCormick, or John L. Lewis, or Ham Fish. Since none of these worthies are considered strong contenders, Willkie's answer went over well with most of the congressmen present, except for Rep. William P. Elmer of Missouri, who jumped up angrily and yelled, "If that's the way you feel, I'm agin you and agin you hard!"

The theme song of the evening was Hate Roosevelt. The Commander-in-Chief was pictured as a dangerous, incompetent, evil man, who must be driven from office. That, said Willkie, was the first order of business, the main need of the country. Even in criticizing the Smith-Connally Act, Willkie concluded that the legislation's main flaw was the plant seizure provision—all right perhaps under normal conditions, but particularly ominous with Roosevelt in the White House.

Willkie went over big—far better than Republican prognosticators had thought possible. Joe Martin of Massachusetts, the tough, reactionary minority leader, was all smiles. "That's the best speech Wendell ever made," he repeated several times. Frank Keefe of Wisconsin, one of the Republican Party's nastiest little Red-baiters when Ham Fish and Clare Hoffman aren't on the job, declared, "When I went to that meeting I was opposed to Willkie, but I'm darned near convinced that he's right." Even the old-guardists were visibly shaken. "He made a damn good speech," one of them admitted rather grudgingly, "but of course, he didn't convert *me*." Rep. Springer was "amazed" at Willkie's obvious ability.

WHAT lasting effect Willkie's personal appearance here will have within the ranks of his own party, it is hard to say. But Republicans enjoyed themselves. It was a pleasure to hear Roosevelt denounced—even Clare Hoffman, who has no use for Willkie, welcomed that part of the evening. And whatever you say about Wendell, and for all his "radical" leanings which party big-wigs found all too dreadful in *One World* ("of course that book was written right after his trip, before he thought things out and got a chance to talk his ideas over with his friends")—he seems to have recaptured a good portion of his 1940 common sense. Doesn't he hate Roosevelt? That's the best way to judge anyone these days—by his attitude toward "that man" in the White House.

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CHINA'S INTERNAL CRISIS

A minority in high places, writes Frederick V. Field, are more eager to fight the "Reds" and progress than the Japanese. The democratic world's stake in Chinese unity.

A FEW days ago a cable was received in New York from Madame Sun Yat-sen. It announced that four truckloads of medical supplies had at long last penetrated the military-economic blockade of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Route armies and reached China's northwest. From this area the Chinese Communists, during all the years of the war against Japan, have been successfully engaging nearly half the invader's forces, seizing his supplies, disrupting his communications, and organizing the countryside for maximum resistance. Because of tory and defeatist influence within the Kuomintang, China's only legal party, which is synonymous with the government, not a pill or a bandage or a gun has been permitted to reach the heroic guerrilla forces.

A careful reading of Madame Sun's cable supports the impression gained from many other sources that China's internal state of affairs remains critical. Her message says: "We must remember that progress toward democracy is like learning to swim. One learns not by talking about it but by getting into the water. War against military fascism provides another measure. Those serve it best who devote all their energies to fighting against the aggressor. American friends can help Chinese democracy by equally supporting all elements actually engaged in fighting Japan."

The wording is not accidental. There are those in China today who give nothing more than lip service to democracy. There are those who are not actually fighting the Japanese. Worse than that, there are important elements, including persons highly placed in the government and in the Kuomintang, who devote most of their time to fomenting disunity and civil war. China has just passed through one of its worst crises; civil war has been narrowly averted. Its causes, however, have not been removed. One of the big four of the United Nations is dangerously weak from internal disunity.

One would have expected that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's recently published collected speeches (*Resistance and Reconstruction: Messages During China's Six Years of War, 1937-1943*, issued by Harper) would clarify the issue of China's internal unity. For there is no question more important in the Far Eastern scene and certainly few others rank with it among all the problems facing the United Nations. Regrettably the volume offers little more than customarily drifts through the fog of Chungking censorship and propaganda. The few passages which deal with the question of Kuomintang-Communist unity are, with only one or two exceptions in the early period of the war, characterized by vituperation against the left. Unlike his sister-in-law, Madame Sun, Chiang Kai-shek has not implemented his desire to defeat the Japanese invader by giving leadership to the progressive forces which represent China's genuine interests. Nevertheless, publication of his wartime speeches, coupled with other documentation at hand, provides us with a point of departure for examining the struggle for unity within China.

THE months from the summer of 1937 to the latter part of 1938 saw the high point of unity among the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and all other groups and factions within the country. The democratic forces by the fall of 1938 were indeed so powerful that a desperate countermove was initiated by the Kuomintang's reactionary figures. Beginning in 1939, these defeatists were tragically successful in bringing about a grave deterioration of national unity. Serious efforts were made by all patriotic groups to swing the pendulum back toward democratic progress, but the reactionary bloc's control of the Kuomintang Party machinery and secret police frustrated these attempts. At best the liberal and progressive elements were able only to stabilize the situation at a very low level. In January 1941, during the New Fourth Army incident, when Kuomintang troops mercilessly slaughtered a part of the magnificent Communist-led force in central China, unity reached its lowest point.

IN A talk delivered at the opening of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang early in 1939 the Generalissimo warned: "You should instruct your people to take lessons from the annals of the Sung and Ming dynasties. The fall of these two dynasties was not caused by outside enemies with a superior force, but by a dispirited and cowardly minority in the governing class and the society of the time." The only passage in all of Chiang's speeches in which he attempts to identify this cowardly minority occurs in an address before the People's Political Council in October 1942: "To a considerable degree social life is as lax now as in peace time, since many merchants have taken selfish advantage of wartime conditions to profiteer and enrich themselves. Enthusiastic patriotism is widely absent among the people and habits of self-seeking and neglect of the public interest remain as obstacles to the success of the government's economic policy."

Unfortunately these passages are not characteristic of Chiang Kai-shek's usual approach to the problems of internal unity. The typical slant is to exonerate the Kuomintang, without differentiating between

Eighteen-year-old Chinese soldiers fight the enemy.

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progressive and reactionary forces within that organization, and to blame the Communists. Because the latter point of view has received wide publicity in American newspapers to the neglect not only of the Communist position but of that of virtually all other non-Kuomintang groups and of substantial sections of the national Party as well, the record needs straightening out.

TYPICAL of Chiang's method of discrediting the Chinese Communists and the great armies under their leadership is the following quotation from his speech made only a month ago to the highest body of the Kuomintang: "If the Chinese Communist Party can prove its good faith by making good its promises, the Central Government, taking note of its sincerity and loyalty in carrying on our war of resistance, will once more treat it with sympathy and consideration so that we may accomplish hand in hand the great task of resistance and reconstruction." These words are almost similar to those uttered by the Generalissimo before the Second People's Political Council in March 1941. What are these promises which he implies the Communist Party has broken and thereby demonstrated bad faith? Chiang Kai-shek enumerated them last month, as he had two and a half years earlier. They were, he claims, contained in a declaration made by the Communists in 1937: first, to struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles; second, to abandon civil strife against the Kuomintang; third, to abandon the soviet form of government and thereby help weld unity; fourth, to disband the Red Army by incorporating it into the National Army under the direct command of the Military Council of the National Government.

Were these promises ever made by the Communist Party? Were they kept? The answer to the first question is to be found in a number of statements made public by Chinese Communist leaders during the first ten months of 1937. It will be recalled that as early as August 1935 the Communist Party had called for national unity among all anti-Japanese forces. At the time, because of the policy of appeasement toward the invader pursued by the Nanking government under Chiang Kai-shek, the call did not envisage the possibility of the government itself being included in the anti-Japanese front. Less than a year later, however, in the spring of 1936, Mao Tse-tung, Communist leader, appealed directly to Chiang and his government to join with the Communists and all other patriotic forces in forming a solid national front against the aggressor. The next landmark in the struggle for unity was the Sian incident of December 1936. The role of the Communists in saving Chiang Kai-shek from his captors opened the way for direct negotiations between himself and Communist representatives and marked the beginning of a rapprochement which progressed rapidly throughout 1937.

On the basis of the published record of this period there can be no doubt that the Communist Party offered to change its policy substantially and at the same time called upon the Chinese government to take the steps necessary for unity. In an interview given in Yenan in October 1937, Mao Tse-tung summarized the situation as follows: "The concessions of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang, in order to achieve the National United Front, were made on the understanding that the Kuomintang should fulfill the following three main conditions: (1) Wage the anti-Japanese war for the liberation of the Chinese nation. (2) Realize a democratic system of government in China. (3) Improve the people's livelihood.

"On the basis of this understanding," Mao Tse-tung went on, "the Communist Party made such concessions as the change of status of the Red Army into the National Revolutionary Army under the general military command of Nanking; the change of the Soviet District into a 'Special District' within the Chinese Republic; the cessation of the insurrectionary policy towards the Kuomintang and of the policy of land confiscation. This was done to liquidate the hostility between these two political parties in China. On the other hand, the Kuomintang agreed to recognize the legal position of the Communist Party in China, and the Communist Party retained its own independent leadership in the Eighth Route Army and in the Special District."

DURING the early months of 1937 the Communists had already specifically carried out each of the four conditions for unity which the Kuomintang had announced at its plenary session the previous February. With respect to the disposition of the Red Army, the understanding of the Communists, after prolonged discussions with the Kuomintang, was perfectly clear. It was conveyed by Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh to four Americans who visited Yenan in June 1937 and later reported by one of these visitors, T. A. Bisson, in his book *Japan in China* in the following words: "During July, also, the Red Army would be coordinated with the central military command at Nanking. Its name would probably be changed to the 'National Revolutionary Army,' and its various divisions would be appropriately numbered in relation to other units of the national armed forces. No commanders would be sent in from Nanking. The army would be officered by its own leaders, who would operate under direction of the Military Affairs Commission, the chairman of which was General Chiang Kai-shek." It is important to note that the fulfillment of these conditions, and the precise manner in which they had been and were being fulfilled, were known to Chiang Kai-shek when, in a statement issued in September 1937, he said: "The Manifesto recently issued by the Chinese Communist Party is an outstanding instance of the triumph of national sentiment over every other consideration. The various decisions embodied in the Manifesto, such as the abandonment of a policy of violence, the cessation of Communist propaganda, the abolition of the Chinese soviet government, and the disbanding of the Red Army are all essential conditions for mobilizing our national strength in order that we may meet the menace from without and guarantee our own national existence."

It is evident that the Generalissimo was satisfied with the steps which the Communists had taken. Events of the next months, indeed well on into 1938, gave proof that the then dominant elements in the Kuomintang were satisfied that a basis for working with the Communists was in process of achievement. For it was during this period that the government itself took a number of steps toward democratization. Civil war ceased, a large number of political prisoners were released, there was relative freedom of speech and assembly, and to a certain extent supplies and funds were sent to the newly constituted Eighth Route Army. I underscore these events to show that as of the fall of 1937 and the succeeding eight or ten months of 1938 the words and deeds of the national government under Chiang Kai-shek gave every indication of gratification with the unity program which the Communists were so vigorously pursuing. The record of this period, in other words, proves the falsity of the position which the Kuomintang reactionaries and Chiang Kai-shek later took in claiming that the Communists had never fulfilled their pledges.

TODAY, six years later, we have abundant evidence that the Communists have consistently lived up to their unity program. In a recent issue of *Amerasia* (July 25, 1943), Philip J. Jaffe listed some of those who have visited China's Northwest and given us first-hand accounts of the work and policies of the Communists. Because every one of these observers has reported that the Communists practice what they preach, the list is worth repeating. It includes Stanton Lautenschlager, a Presbyterian missionary and teacher; Professor William Bland, head of the physics department of Yenching University; Lieut. George Uhlmann of the Fighting French Navy and former French vice-consul in Mukden; Guy Martel Hall, manager of the Peiping branch of the National City Bank of New York; C. Brondgeest, a Dutch engineer; Michael Lindsay, a tutor in economics at Yenching University; Evans Fordyce Carlson, Lieut. Col. in the US Marines, decorated for heroism at Makin and Guadalcanal. Without ex-

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ception these individuals testify to the Communists' devotion to the war and to national unity.

WHAT about the other side of the picture? Has the Kuomintang lived up to its end of the bargain? Here again, as in the case of the Communists, the original conditions of national unity and the degree to which the Kuomintang has redeemed its pledges is a matter of record. I have already quoted Mao Tse-tung to indicate the policies it was incumbent upon the Kuomintang to adopt if they were to play their part in welding national unity. The Communists had agreed to the incorporation of the Red Army in the national forces under the supreme leadership of the Generalissimo. In return it was the duty of the government to provide the former Communist troops with arms, munitions, funds, and medical supplies. At first some supplies and funds were delivered; in 1937 and during 1938 the economic blockade against the Northwest was lifted. With the onset of reaction during 1939 this aid from the Kuomintang ceased. It has not only never been resumed, but the economic blockade has been reimposed and the Kuomintang has maintained some three quarters of a million of its best equipped troops around the edges of the "Special District" in order to assure the effectiveness of the blockade and to prevent the guerrilla armies from effectively engaging the Japanese enemy. So much for the Kuomintang's role on that point of national unity.

A second, and related, proposal of the Communists during the 1937 negotiations was that a National Defense Council representative of all military groups be summoned to discuss the urgent military problems confronting the nation and to work out a strategy of national resistance. At the time the Kuomintang made it known that they regarded the holding of such a conference as premature. They have never held it and they have never instituted anything remotely resembling a substitute for the proposal. Quite the contrary—the attitude of the Kuomintang since 1939 has been obviously hostile to any form of joint military action with the Communists. More than that, on a number of occasions, notably early in 1941 when the New Fourth Army was attacked and many of its leaders and soldiers killed by Kuomintang troops, the Kuomintang deliberately provoked civil war. So much for another item to the dissolution of the soviet form of internal unity.

Politically the Communists had agreed to the dissolution of the soviet form of government and to the incorporation of the Northwest area into the national government as a special district. They had, moreover, begun the establishment of a government which included the active participation of all patriotic bourgeois elements. In return, of course, and as a precondition to national unity, the Kuomintang was under the obligation to democratize its program. This called for the convocation of a People's National Congress to initiate constitutional government and the speedy adoption of a thoroughgoing program of social and economic reform designed to make possible prolonged resistance and an eventual military counteroffensive.

What happened? The People's National Congress had been announced for November 1937 for the purpose of ushering in the new constitution. Under the pressure of war, the Kuomintang postponed that meeting with the promise that it would be convened the next year. It has never been convened. Constitutional government today is further from the Kuomintang plans than it was in the summer of 1937. Only a month ago the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang announced that the People's Congress would not be held until after the close of the war. While this announcement was widely heralded by most American newspapers as a step forward, it is perfectly clear from an objective examination of the record that this was merely another in the Kuomintang's interminable series of moves to put off China's democracy as long as possible. "Progress toward democracy," cabled Madame Sun Yat-sen, "is like learning to swim. One learns not by talking about it but by getting into the water."

SHORTLY after the beginning of Japan's large scale military attack in July 1937 and during the period of improved internal relations, the national government had taken a forward step in the establishment of a National Defense Advisory Council which prominent leaders outside the Kuomintang had been invited to join. A year later this body was superseded by the People's Political Council, with a larger membership, also representing all minority groups. Its promise to develop into a genuine national legislature was forestalled when after 1938 its purely advisory status was increasingly emphasized and its non-Kuomintang membership steadily decreased. Provincial and county bodies, never democratized even to the extent of the People's Political Council, became more and more subservient to local Kuomintang organizations.

Perhaps the most substantial attempt of the Kuomintang to meet the needs of the people was the promulgation of a Program of National Resistance and Reconstruction in March 1938 during the heyday of the unity movement. It covered the fields of diplomacy, economics, politics, education, and military affairs and was accepted by all non-Kuomintang groups as providing the real basis for a united war effort. Great reliance was placed upon such promises as: "The army shall receive more political training"; "All people who have arms of their own shall receive the support and encouragement of the government and . . . shall cooperate with the regular army to defend the country"; "If they [officials] prove to be disloyal and obstruct the prosecution of the war, they shall be tried by court martial"; "Corrupt officials shall be severely punished, and their property shall be confiscated"; "The greatest measure of energy shall be devoted to the development of village economy, the encouragement of cooperative enterprises . . ."; "No profiteering or cornering shall be allowed; and a system of price-fixing shall be instituted"; "In the course of the war, the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of assembly shall be fully guaranteed to the people." The program promised drastic military reforms, emphasizing the training of officers and the constant recruitment of new troops. Here was hope of a new China, a China that would defeat the invader by genuine people's warfare, a China that would in the process of fighting establish its complete independence based upon the democratic strength of the masses.

And what happened to this program? Pitifully little. A handful of traitors were executed. A number of demagogic moves were made toward the development of cooperatives. The establishment of advisory organs of government representing non-Kuomintang elements which were at first promising but which later turned against the very objectives for which they had been set up.

From the foregoing we see that the actual course of events has been this: The Communist Party has completely and unconditionally lived up to its national unity pledges; the Kuomintang, on the other hand, has failed in nearly every respect to carry out its part of the bargain and continues to harbor disruptive elements.

The extreme seriousness of China's internal situation, despite Chungking's crude attempts at censorship, has been widely known for some time. All branches of the American and doubtless the British government are well posted on the matter. It was recognition of the danger of renewed civil warfare that prompted Sumner Welles, then Under-secretary of State, to warn in October 1942 against disunity in China. (Mr. Welles in a memorandum to Earl Browder noted that: "This government [the United States] desires Chinese unity and deprecates civil strife in China. . . .") It was the recurrence of the civil war crisis which provoked the strongly worded articles that have appeared in the United States during recent months. These articles—notably by Pearl Buck, T. A. Bisson, Lawrence Rosinger, and the broadcast by Raymond Gram Swing—were of course privately written and implied no ofcial government policy. Nevertheless they reflected opinion which is known to be widely held in official circles. The article by Vladimir Rogov, appearing in *War and*

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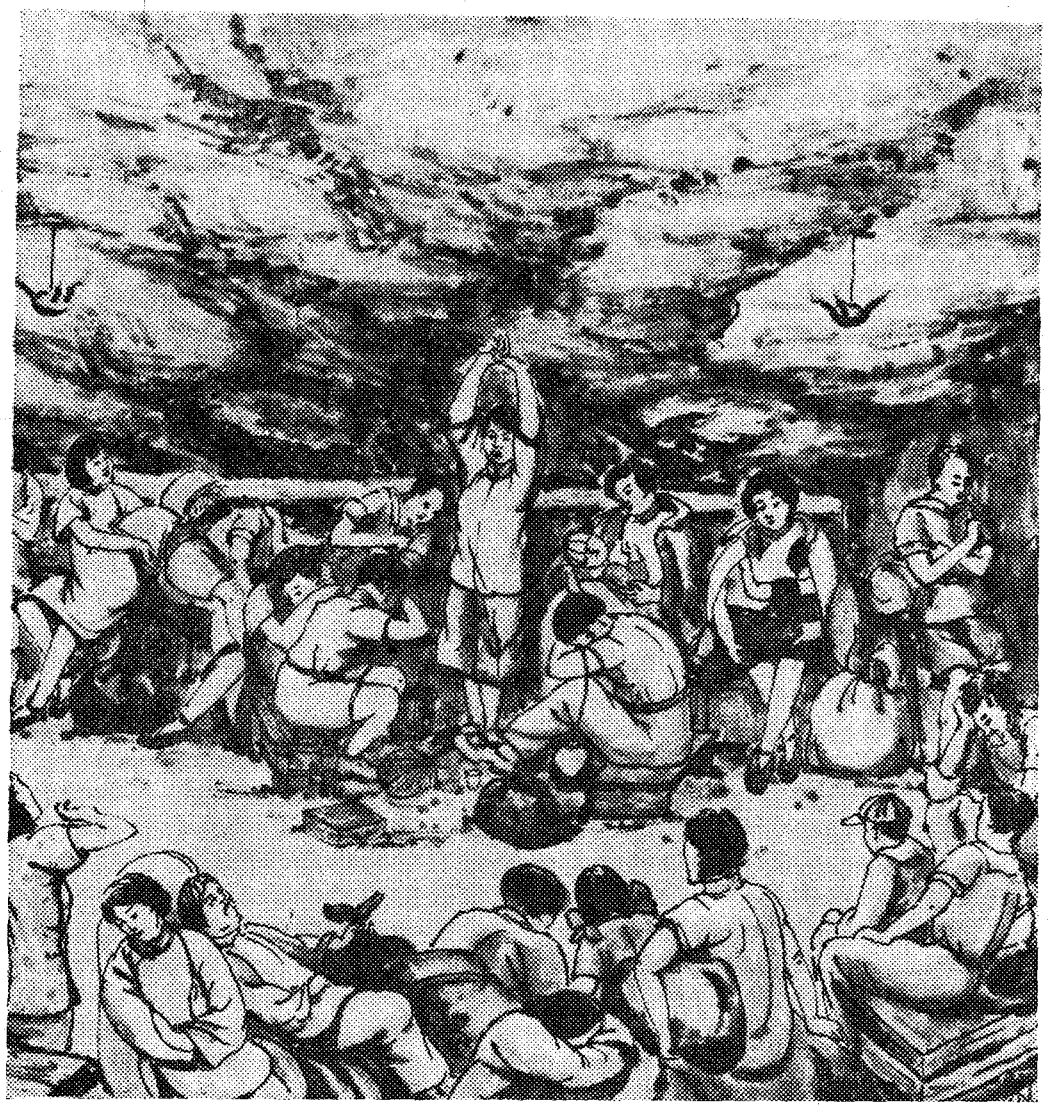

Courtesy Museum of Modern Art

"Air Raid Scene in Chunking"; water color by Wu Ting-l.

the Working Class early in August, may be taken as revealing the seriousness with which Soviet opinion viewed China's internal crisis at that time.

What this means to the United Nations coalition is indicated by Rogov's statement that the Japanese "are now making every effort to deepen and sharpen the internal conflicts in China to weaken Chinese resistance and strengthen their own position. In this attempt they are aided by the maneuvers of the Chinese 'appeasers' who are doing their utmost to undermine the military collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to incite the persecution of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies which, as units of China's united national army, have inscribed many heroic pages in the history of the resistance of the Chinese people to the Japanese invaders." Unfortunately, Rogov reports, "the Chinese Government has shown no firmness in eliminating the capitulators who are undermining national unity and weakening China's resistance against Japanese aggression."

The crisis through which China has just passed and which gave rise to the commentaries that I have mentioned was one of the most severe of the entire war period. Last spring the government sent five new divisions to join the large number of troops already blockading the guerrilla areas. There is no longer any question that these divisions were sent for the express purpose of attacking the Communist-led troops of the Northwest. Civil war was averted by a number of factors, the most important of which was the strong position taken by the Communist Party at a meeting of its Central Executive Committee held in Yenan in June, the results of which were quickly reported to Chungking. To its surprise Chungking learned two things: first, that the Communists were very much stronger than they had previously estimated; second, that they would resist an attack by the Kuomintang with everything they possessed. Other factors which prevailed upon the Chungking reactionaries to withhold the attack were the discovery that Washington was fully informed on developments not only within "Kuomintang China" but in and around Yenan as well, and the additional discovery that the United States was not in the slightest sympathetic with any moves toward civil war. A further factor, supporting the ones just mentioned, was the wide publicity given the Chinese internal situation in the United States and the Soviet Union. Finally, there existed last summer, as there has ever since 1937, the strongest possible Chinese mass sentiment against civil strife and in favor of national unity against the hated Japanese.

The situation within China revealed by a recitation of this evidence is very negative. Against it, however, we must remember—and I wish to emphasize this as strongly as possible—that for all these long years the Chinese people have resisted defeat. Despite disunity, despite the influence of reactionaries, despite the presence of defeatists in high position, as well as capitulators, appeasers, and outright fascists, and despite the weakness of the pro-war elements in Chungking which include Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek—despite all these conditions, the people of China have endured untold suffering and loss and they have bravely continued the terrible struggle. The democratic world owes the Chinese people undying gratitude. To them will be assigned lasting credit for the Chinese nation that will emerge from the interminable conflagration of Chinese history.

And now to close this article, let us ask ourselves this question: Is the problem of Chinese internal unity properly the concern of Americans? Have we the moral right to discuss in so sharp a manner the domestic difficulties of an ally? Is it any of our business to air China's dirty linen in public? Can we serve a useful purpose by doing so or do we merely make matters worse? The answer is that China's internal disunity is very much our concern. Madame Sun Yat-sen has made it so by asking us to "help Chinese democracy by equally supporting all elements actually engaged in fighting Japan." The Chinese people through her and through others have appealed to us for help and encouragement. Beyond that there is the compelling factor of coalition war against a common enemy. We demand of our allies, as they demand of us, the maximum unity and efficiency in battle. Before Pearl Harbor our Chinese friends correctly raised the grave issue of our appeasement of Japan. Their criticism helped our progressive forces combat this tragic policy. Today it is China that is not in a position to wage war to her maximum capacity. Giving full consideration to the military and economic difficulties confronting her, it remains clear that her internal political disunity is a major cause of her present deficiency. To defeat Japan to unconditional surrender and to do so without undue expenditure of men and time require a strongly unified Chinese ally. It is, therefore, not simply our business but our duty as well to give every possible assistance to those forces within China which are working to rid themselves of the disrupting, appeasing minority. With our unequivocal aid the Chinese people can accomplish this all-important war task.

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

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HITLER CLIMBS THE ROCKIES

Somewhere in the Rockies:

TRAIN travel these days is like passage across the seas in steerage. That goes for the Pullmans as well as the day coaches. Travelers in the fancier sections get only two meals a day. The grumbling is minimum—for the trains are jam-packed with soldiers enroute or returning from the fronts and very few passengers have the brass to complain, with service stripes all about them. As one old dowager said to me in the long queue that stood half-way across Iowa waiting for dinner: "We might lose a meal once in a while, but we know what our boys stand to lose."

The mutuality of war has cracked reserve, and Americans were never much for protocol. In no time people talk with one another like old cronies. This soldier tells you about his home in Aberdeen, Washington, and the fine, red apples that grow there. That one shows you a picture of his girl friend. You see many more service stripes than ever before, especially on sailors. It is half troop-train; I believe most trains these days are—khaki, navy blue, the aviators' golden eagles everywhere. The MP's pass politely from car to car, little escaping their seemingly careless but nonetheless eagle eye.

A batch of young aviators are headed toward the Pacific—and probably straight on. They might have been juniors at Ohio State College yesterday; apple-cheeked, bright-eyed, trim; somehow they remind you of most varsity quarterbacks you've ever seen. Built for speed and quick decision. Their sober dignity, however, has nothing in common with undergraduate days. Boys who just got their vote—and now, their commission—behave like veterans. Many are. They talk easily with civilians about everything—except, wisely, their business. I heard a pretty young thing ask a flier where he was going; they had been chatting gaily up to that time. I observed the flier give her a polite brush-off and I noticed too that the girl got the idea pretty fast. She didn't ask again. Old women ask them about their hometowns and about their families; and the boys open up as though to an old aunt. I notice too that most people know what not to ask; the prying question is rare, and immediately suspect.

YES, a people's army. No barriers stand between the folk and the soldiery. In the day coaches children cotton to the men in uniform and the families traveling—there seem to be many—join up with the soldiers over sandwiches, bottles of beer, pretzels. I listen to the talk, join in. It's about the same you hear everywhere out East, except for this: much more talk about the Japanese; atrocity stories are passed on. I notice that the hatred is more intense for the "Jap." After all our boys have really yet to meet the Nazis. Once in a while somebody will say that the Nazis are no different from the Japanese. "And the Germans call themselves Christians," you hear. But you don't feel that they fully grasp the infinite barbarism the Nazis have visited upon their "fellow-Christians" on the continent. That's still relatively vague, in comparison with the feeling toward the Mikado's armies. And there are too many evidences of chauvinism: "White men wouldn't act that way." You hope that somehow the full truth is told these Americans about the Hitler Jugend in occupied Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland. It hasn't been brought home to them yet.

Out here the people face west, out past Pearl Harbor. That's where most of the boys are that they know. Yet one cannot say that they have fallen for the Pacific First stuff, despite the daily drumming of the Hearst propaganda bureau. Of course, some of it is bound to take effect, but by and large they trust the Commander-in-Chief's way of looking at general strategy. That's the impression I get on the train; I wonder how typical it is. I suspect fairly so. . . .

MY GOD, you think, as the train puffs up the sheer heights and you ponder the states you've crossed since Chicago. Battalions of smokestacks rush by; you seem to plow through oceans of teeming farmlands. My God, did Schickelgruber really think he could take all this? Did he think he could get away with it? The visible power of America as you glide across the continent is overwhelming. Didn't anybody mention it to the Feuhrer? Did he expect to buck the 130,000,000 folks like these on the train—and get away with it? But no, the criminal is not necessarily the fool. He had a scheme. It worked in some countries. He figured it would work in this. Even on this train you get the idea. You run into passengers who bear some scar or another of *Mein Kampf* thinking. You wonder how widespread it is. A prim lady sitting opposite me at the table didn't like the service the Negro waiter gave. "They're high and mighty right now," she said, "but wait till the war's over." You run into the high-wages, all-those-strikes talk. Once in a while you hear anti-British sentiment; it seems more frequent than anti-Soviet. You feel the chapters out of *Mein Kampf* way out here on the western plains and up the sides of the Rockies. Yet I don't think the Feuhrer will carry the day. His stuff is still a minority report. You'll get what I mean when I tell you a little story that happened high up here in the Rockies. . . .

THE slight, dark-eyed flier with the service stripes grumbled loudly at the width of Nebraska. He moved about the observation car jerkily, with a slight limp. He had been in and

"You be the Nazis disengaging yourself from the Red Army by a fluid maneuver."

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out of the club-car—I think it was—all day. "Look at it," he said wryly, waving at the endless flatlands and the sky piled high with fantastic clouds. "All day long it's looked the same. Hour after hour and it's still Nebraska. Corn," he grumbled, "corny Nebraska." The crowd in the car smiled. He seemed to twitch about the car and nobody said anything until the pink-cheeked, stocky major who had gotten on at Omaha, put his hand on the little flier's shoulder. "Come on, son," Omaha said, "let me get you a drink. You'll like Nebraska better. It gets better after two or three. I ought to know. I've lived here for fifty-six years." The aviator smiled. "Thanks," he said, "but it won't make Nebraska any better. Corny Nebraska, with all deference to you, sir." Omaha smiled indulgently and they went off to the club-car. "It would be a nice, compact country," the flier went on, "if it weren't for Nebraska."

I met them in the club-car a little later. The place was blue with smoke, jammed, and the radio played a Fats Waller tune:

Now the 2:19 took my baby away
Now the 2:19 took my baby away
But the 2:17 will bring him back again.
We got to be lucky, honey, to bring him back again.

The room was jammed with young fliers, some naval officers, a group of Waves. A few of them joined in the song. Everybody was having a drink before dinnertime. Pretty soon it was dark and we were beginning to climb. Getting close to the Rockies, Omaha remarked to the aviator. The sun set behind the purple hills. The aviator looked outside. "This can't be Nebraska," he said. "This is nice."

The music was good and the young folk in uniform were beginning to feel pretty good. One couple tried to jitterbug in the center of the car. Some gold-braid on the sidelines looked on benevolently. Over to a side a group of civilians were talking loudly. They had a bottle between them which passed hands.

News Item: False teeth included in items charged government by war contractors.

Suddenly one of them waved the bottle at the crowd:

"Come on folks," he said, "let's all have a drink." Nobody answered, just smiled. "Come on soldiers," he insisted, "let's drink to the end of the war and the end of the Jews."

The gay conversation died down immediately, and several who hadn't looked up, turned to eye the civilian. He waved the bottle, said it again. "To the end of the war and the end of the Jews." Nobody said anything. "Three terms of Roosevelt, Rosenman, Baruch, and Morgenthau is too much for any Gentile. We took the country from the Indians and gave it to the Jews."

A couple of people got up and left the crowded car, carefully avoiding the two drunks.

"Hear this one?" he continued. "Know what's wrong with the war effort? The Catholics are in church, the Protestants are in bed, and the Jews are in Washington."

I saw Omaha rise.

"Listen here, mister," he said, "this is a free country. Maybe you have a right to your opinion. I know I have a right to mine. My opinion is that you ought to shut your damn mouth, mister."

The drunk started, then took a step forward. "What's the matter, officer? Hebrew?"

Omaha adjusted his cap. "No sir," he said, "the diagnosis is wrong, mister. Happen to be of Scotch descent. But American. And you, mister, you've started something you've got to finish."

The drunk dropped his bottle and lurched forward. Where Omaha got it I don't know, but he uncorked as neat a one-two as I've seen and the drunk went down. And out.

A few moments of embarrassed silence and the middle-aged major sat down again. The little aviator jerked forward to the bar. "Two more," he said. "Scotch and soda. These are on me," he said with a grin. Afterward a couple of gold-braids came over and shook hands with Omaha.

THIS happened on a club-car on the Union Pacific. I saw it. The episode reminded me of something I heard in Detroit. "Most of the people in the city," a Negro leader told me, "didn't want the riots. A Klux minority—relatively a small fraction—did. The hell of it was that the majority didn't step in to see to it that it couldn't happen again. Or that it won't happen again. They're against it, but not organized to end it. They don't battle for democracy like the Kluxer battles for fascism."

I thought of that here, in this club-car, watching this little but significant episode. The talk of fascism sounds off among men ready to die in the war against fascism. They're uneasy, they don't like it, but they don't fully identify the enemy at the frontlines. The major from Omaha did; and they were grateful to him. Here's the danger: the fascist doesn't believe the democrat means it. All too often, he can shoot off his mouth and get away with it. In other words here at home the fascist is aggressive; too often the democrat doesn't match his militancy. We know that our warriors will do the job at the point of fire; are we matching them on the home front? I don't think so.

In other words, Major Omaha needs recruits.

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MY COUNTRY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Twenty-five years ago a republic was born — and lives on even under the Nazi boot. A native Czechoslovakian describes his people's resistance and aspirations.

I REMEMBER the day as if it were only yesterday instead of twenty-five years ago. The bright but not too strong October sun was shining upon the hundred towers of "little mother Prague." New flags had appeared: blue-white-red ones, the flags of the new state—of our new independent state Czechoslovakia. The day before, Austro-Hungarian troops, with steel helmets and hand grenades, still marched through the empty streets. And on the walls hung the black-yellow proclamations of His Excellency the Imperial-Royal *Statthalter* (Governor) Count von Coudenhove, warning the population not to believe rumors and to obey strictly the imperial authorities. But overnight the picture changed. The Hapsburg monarchy was no more. His Excellency the *Statthalter* packed his luggage without even trying to put up a token resistance in defense of his beloved sovereign. In the streets people danced and sang. It was like a dream. And in the proclamations of the National Council which took power as the provisional government, there were the sentences: "Czechoslovak people! Your century-old dream has become reality. Today the independent Czechoslovak state steps into line with the free sovereign cultural states of the world. . . . With new deeds begins in this hour your new, and—with God's help—glorious history. . . ."

From that day on, the Czechs and Slovaks had their free and independent state —until the shameful deal at Munich put an "end" to this period of Czech and Slovak history.

THE Czechoslovak Republic's twenty years of life were not filled throughout with the holiday spirit of the twenty-eighth of October 1918. But contrasted with the black period under the Nazi heel those two decades of national independence shine like a sort of paradise on earth. The country made remarkable progress during that period: there was no devastating inflation as there was in all the neighboring countries; education reached the highest standards in the Danube basin; the framework of a vast body of social security legislation was established; the national minorities on the whole received fair treatment; labor was not suppressed in its efforts to build up and enlarge its trade unions; democracy had a refuge in Czechoslovakia long after it had gone down in the surrounding countries; and with the mounting danger of fascism everywhere the people of Czechoslovakia developed great understanding of the necessity of anti-fascist national unity and of solidarity with the victims of fascist aggression.

Still, I would be distorting history if I did not point to certain blunders which, in the period of the Munich crisis, proved to be fatal. The tendency to treat Slovakia as a sort of colony, the long opposition to a regulation of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations (the establishment of formal diplomatic relations was postponed by reactionary influences until 1934), the unhealthy policy of the "five-party coalition" which allowed the reactionary groups in the Agrarian Party and the National Democratic Party to strengthen themselves in the most vital government posts—these are some of the reasons why the capitulators succeeded in September 1938. And it would be a distortion of history (and little help in understanding what has taken place since) not to point out that quite a number of the leading men in the government-in-exile, including President Eduard Benes—who today are staunchly working along the lines of a genuine United Nations win-the-war policy—are responsible for some of the gravest blunders of the past.

NEVERTHELESS, certain facts prove that there are politicians and political groups even on the conservative side who have learned something from history. The persons abroad now in the forefront of the Czechoslovak fight for independence are united. There is no fascist or semi-fascist group of the kind that abounds in the Polish, Yugoslav, and other exiled governments; there is general understanding of the need to foster Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. The underground movement is not infested with Mikhailovich figures but united and in full accord with Czechoslovak officials abroad who have solemnly declared that the day the country is freed from the invader the people will choose their own form of government and administration. All this is one of the most distinguished Czechoslovak contributions to the new world in the making. It is significant that on September 24 the government paper *Czechoslovak*, published in London, carried as its leading editorial an article by Professor Zdenek Nejedly—famous scholar and outstanding representative of Czech culture and now a vice-president of the All-Slav Committee in Moscow. In this article entitled "United Czech Ranks," Professor Nejedly states: "The Hitlerites talk about various underground organizations. They mention a communistic one, and on other occasions they call it Benesovite. But all their reports point to the fact that the underground is united in one anti-Hitler front. There is only one organization directed against the German robbers. This organization accepts everybody who chooses the road of struggle against the Hitlerites.

"The same picture unfolds outside Czechoslovakia. Some of us are in the USSR, others have emigrated to England or America, or to the Near East. But we did not become mixed up or befuddled. We know what must be done. We are all in the fight, and there is only one guiding principle: work and fight. And the enemy is Hitler.

"In the Czechoslovak State Council in London all political parties are represented. This gives us a great moral and political strength. There is also a united direction of Czechoslovak foreign policy. President Benes declared several times quite unmistakably that one of the pillars of the present and future Czechoslovak policy must be the closest collaboration with the Soviet Union. This opinion is shared by the other Czechoslovak representatives in the political, economic, and cultural fields. This is also the conviction of the people back home. The Czechs have not forgotten and cannot forget that in 1938, when all Europe gave them up and allowed Hitler to dismember Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union remained their only ally. The USSR kept its word and did not abandon them. The Czechs learned from experience that one cannot trust the word of another, only the word of the Soviet government can be trusted. The Czechs know also that today no one fights Hitler so fiercely, and with such energy and success as the Soviet Union. We Czechs realize what the USSR is now in international politics and what it will be tomorrow. With full confidence, the Czechs march at the side of the USSR, and this is true not only of the left but of all strata of the Czech nation."

The strength of the Czechoslovak cause is also evidenced by the fact that just recently a conference of anti-Nazi Germans from the Sudeten territory has been held in London. Representatives of democratic and labor groups, with the sole exception of Wenzel Jaksch's Social Democrats, who foster Greater German ideas, are uniting in appealing to the Sudeten German population to join in the fight of the Czech and Slovak people and oust the Nazis.

GREAT are the sufferings of the Czechs and Slovaks under Nazi and quisling rule. Thousands have been slain or put in concentration camps or shipped to labor

(*Continued on page* 31)

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CHURCHILL ANSWERS CHURCHILL

In a six-volume document, the Prime Minister criticizes and castigates his own current attitudes toward coalition warfare and the meaning thereof. Richard O. Boyer reviews the record.

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S severest critic is Winston Churchill. On such paramount issues as coalition warfare, the second front, and the African and Italian campaigns he castigates himself with a blunt and uncompromising directness. He prefers charges and returns indictments against himself of a gravity that only he would dare to make. Nor does he ask special treatment in view of his position or a timid objectivity in view of the issues at stake. Instead he writes that such treatment and objectivity "is a weak mood which cannot be indulged in a world where the consequences of men's actions produce such frightful calamities for millions of humble folk, and may rob great nations of their destiny."

Churchill is particularly severe with Churchill on the solemn matter of coalition warfare. He proclaims a general and all-embracing principle concerning such warfare on page 474, volume six, of his excellent and monumental biography of his ancestor the Duke of Marlborough. Throughout this biography, which details the fight of the equivalent of the present United Nations against France, the dominant tyranny of the eighteenth century, Churchill insists on the relevancy of his story to modern times. His pronouncement as to proper conduct between allies seems to buttress his claim to modern attention.

To place his pronouncement within the framework of the present it is necessary to recall that the United States and Great Britain gave a solemn undertaking to the Soviet Union to open a second front in Europe in 1942—or at the very least, officially issued language which permitted of this construction. It is further necessary to remember that in 1942 Great Britain signed a twenty-year mutual assistance treaty with the Soviet Union in which each signatory solemnly promised to use its full strength against the common enemy. And it is also necessary to recall that for two years and four months the Soviet Union has alone fought between two-thirds and fourth-fifths of the entire Nazi army.

What is Churchill's comment on such unequal burdens among allies?

He lays down this general principle: "Perfidy among allies is justly odious," he writes, "*but failure to fulfill solemn undertakings and make adequate contribution to the common cause is not distinguishable, in its consequences at least, from perfidy.*"

BEING a man of common sense Churchill understands that if A and B are allied against C, and A does not fully help B when attacked by C, then A is in reality, no matter what his professions, helping his declared enemy against his declared friend. Now it is possible that some might claim that the United States and Great Britain have not gone back on a second front. It is *impossible* for anyone to claim that permitting our ally to fight between two-thirds and four-fifths of the common enemy is, in Churchill's words, making an "adequate contribution to the common cause." Senator "Happy" Chandler might try to wiggle out of this. Churchill doesn't. He says that "it is not distinguishable in its consequences, at least, from perfidy."

Churchill also warns against delaying decisive action or permitting a war to drag out because of the "weariness, moral and physical, which drags down all prolonged human effort." He is particularly caustic with those who wish to wage a war of limited liability, with those who delay action while possessing superior strength; for, he declares, a favorable situation is frequently transformed into a bad one by those who hesitate and vacillate. He cautions against the "dangerous prudence of conventional opinion" in war. In remarking on the refusal of the Allies of 1703 to take the offensive, he writes in the biography, "How shameful to sit idle in superior strength at such a time! How horrible to contemplate the penalty which 1704 would exact for the sloth of 1703!" He indicts the Dutch for "frittering away the months" and says that because of this reluctance to act a favorable situation was "turned sharply and sourly against the Allies." He pictures his illustrious ancestor warning against the disgrace of permitting the allies of the Dutch and English to bear the chief burden of the war and quotes Marlborough as writing: "The Eyes of all the Allies are fixed upon us, and they will have cause to justly blame our conduct, if we do not do all that is possible to relieve them . . . which is not to be done but by pushing boldly."

But the army of the English and Dutch on the Continent remained in an idleness similar to that now enforced on the British-American armies in England, and Churchill's ancestor asked permission to return home, as, "I shall not be very fond of staying with an army that is to do no more than eat. . . ." Although Marlborough fought hard to move the Dutch to the offensive they were intrigued by that modern idea of "victory without slaughter" much as proponents of victory through air power are intrigued by a similar fallacy now. Marlborough saw, Churchill writes, "that this fleeting hour of victory without slaughter was probably the prelude to slaughter without victory." He was correct. The war lasted eight years longer. Thousands were killed who would have lived had aggressive action been taken in 1703. The French, on the point of defeat in that year, were able to gain a peace eight years later that undid the gains of the allies on the battlefield and mocked the blood that had been needlessly shed under the guise of caution.

CHURCHILL, however, is most severe on proponents of perimeter warfare, on opponents of a second front for which Marlborough ceaselessly fought against the military experts of his day, on those who prevented Marlborough from striking at Paris, the heart of the enemy then as Berlin is the heart now. Then as now those against a second front forced secondary fronts in Italy. Then as now opponents of the second front said the Mediterranean sphere was more vital than the heart of the enemy. Parliament, despite Marlborough's opposition, forced a front in Spain because, Churchill writes, "It seemed a clever and easy road. It was in fact an additional detour on a road already too long."

As the war of the Allies against France dragged on in 1704 with most of its activity in Italy, Marlborough again raised the issue of a two-front war. "Was the war," writes Churchill, "to drag on in costly, bloody gnawings around the frontier . . . until perhaps it died down in disastrous futility, until the Alliance . . . broke again into pieces. For a thrust at the heart, the chance, the means, the time—and might not he (Marlborough) feel?—the man had now come." Continuing, Churchill writes that Marlborough's "conception was a double invasion from north and south. The mighty French monarchy would be taken between hammer and anvil. This he deemed would be irresistible and final." Speaking of the principle of two-front war, which he says is a cardinal tenet of all successful war, Churchill points out that the two fronts must mesh, that they must really push against the enemy from converging directions and that any front anywhere does not make for two-front war even though a front may be opened which is chronologically the second. He writes, speaking generally, that the two invasions

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"forge ahead and no decisively superior concentration can be made against either."

Churchill is particularly hard on Churchill when inveighing against such perimeter warfare as was the invasion of Africa which he once said that he felt history would view as "a pretty good thing to do." History may think so, but Churchill in his heart never will—if his own passionate words are any criterion. Over and over again, until his statements have the quality of a refrain, he insists that the edge, the circumference, the perimeter, will fall if you strike at the heart. Marlborough wished at one point to attack across the British Channel on the fortified coast of northern France near Abbeville, after a second front was opened in the south of Toulon. But the opponents of two-front war, the military experts of the day, favored pressing the war in Spain and in Italy, which Marlborough felt was too remote from the sphere of decision.

In addition the French had forces in Flanders and the opponents of striking from the north and south said that it would not do to permit hostile forces to remain on the edge while Marlborough struck at Paris. "The capture of Toulon," Churchill writes, "and a real thrust toward Lyon would in his judgment instantly clear Spain," just as the reduction of Germany in 1942 would "have instantly cleared" North Africa and Italy. "The French," Churchill continues, "would have flowed out of Spain as naturally as water flows out of a cistern when its bottom tap is opened. . . . If Marlborough's strategy had prevailed, not only would Ghent (in Flanders) have been freed but all the French armies and garrisons would have been recalled to defend and confront the invasion," as the German armies would have been recalled in 1942 to defend Germany. "Great battles would have been fought in the heart of France and victory would have provided in 1708 that triumphant peace which after so much further bloodshed the Grand Alliance was to seek in vain." And the Grand Alliance never did conclusively win, although in force it was irresistible, because that force was not properly applied, because it was wasted in Italy and Spain, because two-front warfare and a blow at the heart was ceaselessly delayed in the name of a caution that ultimately slaughtered thousands.

I SUBMIT that Churchill has made a case against Churchill. I submit that Churchill has made a case for President Roosevelt, for General Marshall and all those who favor a two-front war now against the heart of the enemy. I believe, as the world believes, that in Churchill's words the moment has arrived "for a thrust at the heart," that "the chance, the means, the time," have "now come."

RICHARD O. BOYER.

Slings and Arrows

MARTHA DODD'S script based on the famous diary of her distinguished anti-fascist father, the late Ambassador William E. Dodd, has been shelved by Twentieth Century-Fox. The reasons are strictly political.

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Howard Fast's "Citizen Tom Paine" may be made into a movie. Negotiations are now under way.

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Donald Ogden Stewart met Paul Robeson after his stupendous opening performance in "Othello." "You know," said Stewart, "for three hundred years people have argued about the source of Iago's malevolence. It struck me as I watched the play tonight that he's really very much like a small-time fascist." "Of course," Robeson replied. "Since fascism has come we can understand Iago better."

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Most unusual at a Theater Guild first night was the large number of Negroes and trade unionists. One of the more memorable scenes not played on the stage was that of Carol Weiss King, Harry Bridges' attorney, and Joe Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, in the foyer of the theater locked in violent debate over the fine points of "Othello."

●

As its contribution to the success of the tri-partite conference the Norwalk, Conn., Town Meeting staged a debate between Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Arthur Upham Pope, chairman of the Committee for National Morale, on the subject: "Can Russia Go Democratic under Stalin?" Pope upheld the affirmative, and Baldwin the negative, but the wording made both assume that the Soviet Union was not now democratic. Norman Cousins, editor of the "Saturday Review of Literature," acted as moderator. To assure the proper spirit of fairness and friendship toward our Soviet ally Alexander Kerensky and Isaac Don Levine were also invited to participate.

●

Prior to this event, efforts to organize a local committee of the Council for American-Soviet Friendship had not made much headway. But so incensed were Norwalk's progressive citizens at this "debate" that the organization for the first time began to jell.

●

Paul C. Smith, who left a $25,000 a year job as managing editor of the San Francisco "Chronicle" to become head of press relations for the Navy with the title Lieutenant Commander, and then resigned that berth to join the Marines as a private, is now a lieutenant. He has been in training and expects to see action at one of the fronts before long.

●

John Wiley, ex-minister to Poland, recently addressed a group confidentially in Washington and told them that Russia wished to make a Soviet Tadjikistan out of Germany. He did not bother to quote his sources of information.

●

The women of the Democratic Party in Philadelphia arranged a meeting at which William C. Bullitt, pro-fascist, anti-Sovieteer and now candidate for mayor, spoke, as did Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Bullitt talked for an hour, calling on all Democrats to stand together (presumably behind his candidacy). The stage was set for Mrs. Roosevelt to get up and endorse him—which Bullitt and his supporters confidently expected she would do. She arose and apologized for the fact that she had no time for a speech as she had to make a train. "Don't vote for the party label," she concluded, "vote for the right man."

PARTISAN.

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NEW YORK POLLS: NATIONAL STAKES

Issues, personalities, and smokescreens in the current electoral struggle. S. W. Gerson examines the significance for the whole nation. Pro-war forces versus Hooverism.

NEW YORK state—containing one-tenth the nation's population and paying one-fifth the nation's taxes—is going to the polls on November 2 in an election which, as the jitterbugs would say, is out of this world. The Through-the-Looking-Glass quality of the campaign arises, heaven knows, not from the will of the ordinary voter, who has his mind on the problems of the war, but from one of the thickest political smokescreens ever laid down in an election fight. A stranger reading the metropolitan press daily would get the firm impression that New Yorkers are involved in a statewide poll on a certain Thomas Aurelio who, it seems, was indiscreet enough to pledge "undying loyalty" to gangster Frank Costello over a tapped telephone wire. Of such stuff is our history made.

The truth, of course, lies elsewhere. New York state will be the scene of what is, objectively, a referendum on the President's war policies. The main fight will revolve around the election of a Lieutenant Governor to take the place of Thomas W. Wallace, Republican, who died early this year. The pro-Roosevelt candidate, Gen. William Haskell (retired), has the support not only of the White House but of all factions of the Democratic Party, the American Labor Party, and the ever-growing CIO. Against him stands State Senator Joe R. Hanley, majority leader of the state's upper house, lawyer, minister, and Chautauqua spellbinder.

In the very nature of things both men are symbols far greater than their own personalities. Hanley, whom his opponent describes as a would-be messenger boy for Republican Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, makes no bones about his fealty to his boss. Upon his nomination on August 24, Hanley said: "We will show the state and the nation, which has its eyes on us, that the people of the Empire State appreciate the fine administration that Tom Dewey has given us." And Thomas J. Curran, one of Dewey's chief henchmen and Republican boss of New York county, made it more explicit the next day, saying: "A vote for Joe Hanley is a vote for Dewey. A vote for anyone other than Joe Hanley is a vote against Dewey. This is the only issue involved in the election."

HASKELL, on the other hand, when asked whether he believed that "a vote for Haskell is a vote for Roosevelt," replied that it wouldn't be a fair test of the President's popularity but made plain his four-square endorsement of the President's war leadership and the type of administration given the state by past Democratic governors. Gen. Haskell has pitched his campaign primarily on the issue of the war, a fact which is considerably embarrassing to his opponents, who would prefer that he shift from the thorny subject. GOP strategists, as well as some Democratic conservatives, are uncomfortable when the hearty old soldier reminisces in public about his experiences as a relief administrator in the Soviet Union during the postwar famine days more than two decades ago—and makes no bones about his respect for the great Soviet people, their army and leaders. But progressives generally are heartened by a leader who in the midst of a so-called local election sees fit to recall his conversations with Lenin and to boast quietly that he was one of the few military men who estimated the Red Army correctly. "I knew that kind of revolutionary army is never (beaten)," he told a press conference on October 11. "It was the same kind Napoleon took over after Toulon, the same kind ours was in our revolutionary war."

But if the clubhouse boys don't get all the nuances, the GOP high command does. It seeks desperately to avoid debate on the large questions of war and foreign policy. For any such debate must perforce dredge up Governor Dewey's views. The Governor, whose eye is fixed on the 1944 Republican national convention and the White House, would prefer a large area of silence about his Mackinac Island declaration for an Anglo-American alliance (obviously excluding our leading fighting ally, the Soviet Union). Nor would the Governor wish at this time to be reminded of his firm anti-Soviet views, detailed at considerable length before a meeting of Republican women in New York on Jan. 20, 1940. Discussing Soviet-American relations, Dewey then said: "It has recently been revealed that within the past year the administration seriously considered still another deal with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In a futile attempt to avert war, it actually explored the possibility of a fantastic partnership with Russia . . . we need no such partnerships. . . ."

Of course, it would be embarrassing to have this question discussed publicly at a time when Secretary of State Cordell Hull, with the full approval of all sections of patriotic opinion, is in Moscow conferring with Soviet Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov and British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden. Since Governor Dewey has never repudiated these views—in fact, by his Mackinac Island declaration has obliquely confirmed them—it behooves him and his man Hanley to talk and talk loudly about other questions. Hence the great to-do about Magistrate Aurelio and the O'Connell political machine in Albany. Dick Tracy is still popular and gang-busting is getting one more whirl. Mr. Dewey steps before the microphone and with characteristic nonchalance smites the racketeers hip and thigh. And that is seriously presented to the people of a great state as the most important issue of the day!

THERE is, of course, method to this madness. The GOP has tried to create in New York an issue similar to that of the Jersey GOP, which sought to cover its own appeasement tracks by the false cry of Hagueism. *Dewey's "anti-racketeering" strategy constitutes the same type of smokescreen. It is, in effect, a maneuver designed to cover the operations of the Hoover-Dewey wing of appeasers and defeatists in the Republican Party.* If the public can be trapped into an interminable debate on *l'affaire* Aurelio and the iniquities of the O'Connell boys, it will not stop to examine the fundamental questions of the day.

Thus far, it is necessary to report, the Dewey strategy has been attended by considerable success, the major metropolitan newspapers having consistently front-paged the Aurelio question. Only the most advanced progressives and the CIO have kept their eyes on the ball and insisted throughout the hubbub that the Lieutenant Governorship remains the central contest of the day. But even if the artificial fog created by the Dewey strategists were dissolved, the picture would remain no less complex. There is, first, the startling anomaly that Wendell Willkie, who is opposed to everything Governor Dewey supports, is backing Hanley. True he rushed into the picture in order to get himself a forum for 1944 and to leave no blemish on his escutcheon of party regularity, but to the average man this is obscure.

ON THE Haskell side there is something less than a crusade. If state chairman James A. Farley does not want Haskell's defeat, he is certainly not bestirring himself too energetically for his election. Most curious of the recent political developments has been the endorsement of Hanley by the State Federation of Labor, an organization which has not endorsed a Republican for the last twenty-five years. This is unhappy confirmation of a warning in my article in NEW MASSES of May 4: "Dewey by no means confines his political wooing to big business and the middle class. He is build-

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ing a series of fences to the labor movement, and particularly to the most conservative section of the AFL." Conservative AFL leaders insist that their reasons are wholly "practical." They feel that they "must live with Dewey" for the next four years and "want to get AFL legislation through." Actually, however, it is not simply a question of narrow legislative considerations. The endorsement of Hanley, despite his anti-labor record in the legislature, reflects the current strength of the Woll-Hutcheson clique in the AFL, silently aided by John L. Lewis and David Dubinsky.

Mr. Dubinsky's activity here is, in Alice's famous phrase, "curiouser and curiouser." While the state leadership of the ALP, dominated by Dubinsky, has verbally endorsed Haskell, the literature they have put out for him has been meager and belated. Dubinsky and his forces have apparently done little to persuade the State Federation of Labor or local AFL bodies to oppose a Hanley endorsement. On the basis of the past relationship between Dewey and Dubinsky, there is considerable ground for the suspicion that the preoccupation of the American Labor Party state committee with one question—the candidacy of Matthew Levy as against Aurelio—is rooted in the anti-Roosevelt outlook of Mr. Dubinsky. Mr. Dubinsky and his Social Democratic friends have grown steadily more chilly towards the national administration as it strengthens its policy of collaboration with the Soviet Union and national unity to win the war. Stealthily, but definitely, the Social Democrats, with Dubinsky as one of their leading spirits, have been moving closer towards the Republicans.

In this regard, it is not accidental that Dubinsky makes Sidney Hillman, president of the CIO Political Action Committee and a staunch supporter of President Roosevelt and General Haskell, one of his main targets. Dubinsky is on his way out of the American Labor Party, and the Hillman plan to unite that organization is getting ever mounting approval. Under the circumtances Dubinsky's alliance with the Dewey forces is dictated not only by the logic of his growing anti-Roosevelt, anti-United Nations, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist position, but by frantic desire to survive politically.

However, despite the obstacles, General Haskell can be elected. Registration in the city dropped about 14.3 percent. Nevertheless, it did not drop as much as in the upstate areas, where it fell fifteen percent. However, victory for the Haskell forces depends in the main on the organized workers. The CIO has done a good job on registration in New York city, halting what was expected to be a disastrous decline. If the general pulls no punches in the last few days and places the central issue of the war clearly and boldly before the public, refusing to be entangled in Dewey's Dick Tracy tactics, he can win.

MEANWHILE, residents of New York City are faced with judicial and councilmanic elections. The elections for Supreme Court judge in the first judicial district—comprising Manhattan and the Bronx—have, of course, hogged all the front page space. Magistrate Aurelio, after having been nominated by the Democratic and Republican Parties, was exposed by District Attorney Frank Hogan as owing his nomination to Frank Costello, underworld character. Repudiated by the leaders of both parties, he nevertheless remains on the ballot unless he is disbarred before November 2. Matthew Levy, old guard ALP leader, is his opponent, as is George Frankenthaler, Republican running on an independent party line. After considerable debate, caused by obstinacy in the old guard ALP forces and the Red-baiting record of Mr. Levy, most progressives came to the conclusion that the major question was to defeat Aurelio and to eliminate him as the subject of chief public discussion. Thus, not because they love Levy more, but because they love Aurelio less, many progressives intend to vote a straight Labor Party line on the voting machine, including Matthew Levy, thus striking a blow for unity.

Last in the general public's calculations perhaps, but not least in importance, are the elections for City Council. Peter V. Cacchione, Communist from Brooklyn, who was elected two years ago, is waging a splendid campaign for reelection, having been endorsed by the CIO because of his "outstanding record in the present Council." The CIO Political Action Committee, reporting to the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, said of him: "Councilman Cacchione has the best record of all incumbent Councilmen." Even the ultra-respectable and timid Citizens Union said that Councilman Cacchione is "a conscientious Councilman with a very good voting record." Despite the lower registration, which means that less Councilmen will be chosen this year under the New York system of proportional representation, Pete is conceded by all his opponents as having at least a fifty-fifty chance to win.

Peter V. Cacchione

IN MANHATTAN, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Negro leader and the Communist Party county chairman, is waging a remarkable campaign, having the widest support ever given any Negro candidate save the present Negro Councilman A. Clayton Powell, Jr., who is not standing for reelection, but has endorsed Davis to succeed him. Eugene P. Connolly, ALP nominee in Manhattan, is conceded by many observers as having a good chance of election. Davis has endorsed Connolly and is urging his voters to give him their second choices. Connolly has reciprocated, so that one of the two may be elected. Stanley Isaacs, who this year received the Republican nomination, has wide middle class support and the endorsement of Wendell Willkie. He is considered a sure bet. All three were endorsed by the city CIO.

In the Bronx, Isidore Begun is the Communist candidate. Begun, a tireless worker, well-known in the Bronx, is expected to poll a strong first choice vote, which should be of considerable help to Michael J. Quill, Transport Workers Union president, an independent labor candidate. Begun's second choices will go to Quill, a former councilman, whose crusading campaign for the workers of the entire borough and his frontal attacks on the Christian Front mob, are known all over the borough.

In the ever-growing borough of Queens, Paul Crosbie, veteran Communist leader, is putting up his usual dignified campaign, with the emphasis against the Coughlinite-led American Rock Party. His second choices are going to A. Philip Donnelly, Laborite candidate, and his third choices to Irving Lemov. One of the latter two stands a chance of election. (Under the system of proportional representation, or PR as it is popularly known, you can vote your first choice freely without wasting your vote, by marking second, third, fourth choice, etc. Your vote finally helps to elect somebody. Hence, the Communist candidacies, far from splitting the strength of other progressive candidates, actually assist them.)

While not yet fully defined, there is developing in New York a win-the-war camp, ranging from middle-of-the-road Democrats like Haskell, and including liberal Republicans, the CIO, the Labor Party and the Communists. This camp is itself frequently divided on many secondary issues, but there is a growing unity on the crucial question of the day: support of Commander-in-Chief Roosevelt in order to win a speedy victory over the Axis.

S. W. GERSON.

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THE YOUNG ACT FIRST

They came from all over the country, to learn how to strengthen that country in anti-fascist war. From the Young Communist League to American Youth for Democracy.

At a quarter to seven on Saturday, October 16, Mac Weiss, last president of the Young Communist League, leaned forward from the rostrum, and in a slow, measured voice, asked the assembled delegates to the YCL convention for a motion to dissolve that body. The motion was made and seconded, but before the chair could finish "all in favor of . . ." a monumental viva voce roar of affirmation rocked the hall. Cheering and singing, the delegates swept around the room. As of that moment the Young Communist League was no more. But the decision was one of life, not death. The vociferous approval of the young men and women was only a prelude to the formation of a broader, more effective, anti-fascist youth organization, the American Youth for Democracy.

In proposing to unite people of all creeds and color, of varying political beliefs, these young men and women grasped history by the forelock. In recognizing the needs of the hour, in giving the example to their more hesitant elders, they were following in the footsteps of their historic forebears. It was the youthful Sons of Liberty groups that were the backbone of the agitation for American independence. Most of the leaders of the Abolitionist movement joined that fight in their early twenties. And today, the most advanced of the anti-fascist youth in America are convinced that unity, based upon *all* the divergent elements that make up our country, is the only answer to the challenge of fascism.

One had only to look about the huge hall at Mecca Temple in New York to realize that these youngsters not only talked but acted. Trade unionists, students, community leaders, church representatives, Negro, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, crowded the delegates' tables, all acting with a single purpose, setting aside differences that were irrelevant to the main objective of furthering the war effort and the winning of a democratic peace. From fourteen to thirty, these youngsters came from all states in the union, many of them away from home for the first time.

For two days they talked, listened, discussed with rapt attention. This was not merely a convention but a long step toward the future. The kind of world that they would help make for themselves would be based on the decisions reached here.

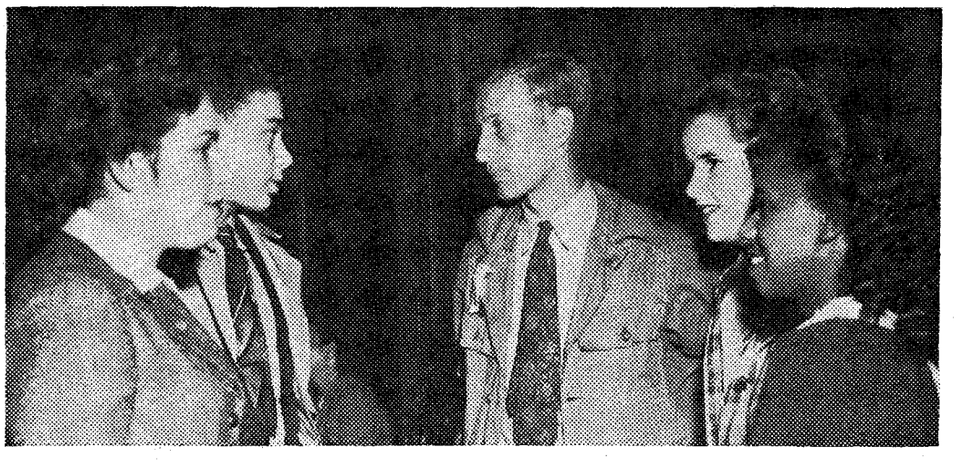
Consciousness of this fact was manifest in their resolutions, in their program, in the new constitution, in the procession of youngsters that filed to the platform. From Detroit, Ypsilanti, Seattle, Baltimore, The Bronx, Los Angeles, the coal regions of Pennsylvania, Boston, Chicago, Indianapolis, the delegates gave evidence of the need for a united anti-fascist youth. Wherever new youth groups had been formed with a common program of action, rapid headway had been made. A nineteen-year-old Negro boy from Ypsilanti told how a new anti-fascist club had thrown a party in the union hall of the Ford Willow Run plant, and had attracted 700 Negro and white workers. From Boston came a delegate who reported that on the issue of anti-Semitism, his non-partisan youth club had collected several thousand petitions to the governor. In Seattle a new club had grown so rapidly that it was now negotiating for a two-story building for its future home.

And so the stories went. Said one of the convention-hardened veterans of the press table: "This is the smartest and the youngest political pow-wow that I ever sat through."

Despite the gravity of its purpose, there was nothing grim about this convention. It was as lively as a cheering section. The emotional responses evoked by the proceedings demanded an outlet, and whenever a break permitted, the delegates sang and shouted new songs and slogans. At one point, an eruption of jitterbugging took precedence over all matters for about fifteen minutes. The spirit of the convention is best exemplified by the fact that fifteen minutes after the new name, American Youth for Democracy, was adopted, the Michigan delegation, led by a young Negro and a vivacious blonde just celebrating her seventeenth birthday, had already composed and introduced a theme song for the AYD. The advent of the new organization was hailed with a fervor and a spirit of which only the youth are capable, and a parade ushered in the new AYD as a parade had ushered out the YCL.

Scattered throughout the hall were youth leaders who had already achieved national reputations. Seated quietly in the rear was Staff Sergeant Robert Thompson from Ohio, veteran of the Spanish war, decorated with the Distinguished Service Cross for heroism in action at Buna Mission. Down front near the speakers' dais was Celeste Strack, noted student leader and now head of the youth movement in California. On the platform, conducting the meeting, was David Livingston, a vice-president of New York's famous local 65 of the Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, CIO. Called the "typical American youth" by the OWI, another delegate — Whitey Goodfriend — was happily greeting his many friends who had given him up for lost. Twice torpedoed and reported missing for many weeks, this young merchant seaman from Baltimore, tough, courageous, outspoken, had brought the delegates to their feet earlier in the day when, in the name of the soldiers and sailors with whom he had fought on the beach heads of Sicily and Italy, he called for a second front without further delay.

Perhaps the most publicized of them all was John Gallo, of the Detroit delegation. Former athlete, professional prizefighter, and auto worker, young Gallo has achieved national fame when he appeared at the Ford assembly line, the first to wear a CIO button. He is now a recreational director for Local 600, United Auto Workers, the world's largest local, and a member of the executive board. Present, too, were Frank Lumpkin, Buffalo heavyweight contender, sent as a delegate by a club of steel workers; Robert McCarthy from Boston, who,



Group of delegates talking with Whitey Goodfriend—chosen as "typical American youth" by the OWI—at the convention as seaman delegate.

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as president of Local 37, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, is one of the country's youngest trade union leaders. From Seattle came Naomi Ellison, of the National Industrial Council, YWCA, and from New York, Carl Ross and Marcella Sloane, former leaders of the YCL, and Winifred Norman, head of the National Council of Negro Youth. There were many more than we have room to tell about.

The broad character of the convention was best expressed by the composition of the Michigan group. Among its members were representatives of the Junior League, the International Workers Order, Negro and white churches, the synagogues, the YWCA, Wayne and Michigan Universities, and community clubs. As one of the delegation put it, "If we do not have unity now in Michigan we never will. The terror is out in the open. You have to live in Detroit to realize the boldness of the organized hoodlums, the Ku Kluxers, the anti-Negro and anti-union groups. We have seen the face of the enemy, and we realize that we can only win if we all fight him at the same time. It is a kind of coalition warfare on a local scale."

THE new executive board of the AYD, fully conscious of the problem, has called for 30,000 new members by Lincoln's birthday. Speaking for the most advanced anti-fascist youth of a war generation, the board stressed a program that would strengthen the trade unions as the most consistent organized force for democracy. It called for an end to Jim-Crow, Red-baiting, anti-Semitism, prejudice, and intolerance. It proposed campaigning for a second front, for the eighteen-year-old vote bill, and for a system of universal obligatory military training after the war. Democracy rests in the people, and its defense is more assured by a people versed in the military art than by a voluntary standing army. In short, the program called for the kind of action that any honest patriot *must* engage in, if we are to win the war and strengthen a democratic America.

As the tenants of the press table were putting away their notes, the reporter for one of the press associations observed that the delegates "were a fine bunch of boys and girls, but a bit too serious for kids." A delegate from a nearby table caught him up. "Mister, don't you think that fighting for a democratic America is serious stuff?" When the reporter admitted that he did, they shook hands on it. And that, judging from the spirit that animated the youngsters as they left to catch their trains and buses for home, is what they aim to fight for as they carry out the instructions of the new national council to "popularize the policy, program, and constitution" of the *American Youth for Democracy*.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

READERS' FORUM

What About Roosevelt?

TO NEW MASSES: I think this article by Mr. Magil "What About Roosevelt?" is admirable—I should like to tie the Roosevelt-haters down and read it aloud to all of them—their name is legion in this town. I do not need to be convinced, as I agree with everything Mr. Magil says—except that even a just criticism of Mr. Roosevelt gives me a pang.

I was particularly impressed by the statement, "He is, on the contrary, the political head of the most powerful capitalist country in the world, directing the destiny of his nation in the epoch of advanced imperialism with monopoly capitalism firmly at the economic controls," etc.

My confidence in him is profound—my admiration great—my gratitude warm for the reforms he has accomplished under opposition.

Mr. Magil's final admonition is very eloquent.

In spite of a strong conviction that people, as a rule, do not want to be enlightened politically—I shall hand the October 12 issue of NEW MASSES to some of the more intelligent of my friends, because "What About Roosevelt?" is as careful, thoughtful, timely, and masterly presentation of facts, and a ringing challenge to the American public.

Ruxbury, Mass.

FRANCES AMES RANDALL.

TO NEW MASSES: A. B. Magil's article "What About Roosevelt?" [NEW MASSES, October 12] focuses our attention on the very immediate problem of building for our Commander-in-Chief by the great pressure of the people, the power to beat down those who obstruct and betray.

Of all the possible candidates for the presidency in the 1944 election we can expect the greatest amount of liberality from Franklin D. Roosevelt. It must be the duty of the liberal press to urge complete and undivided support of the President toward the end of ensuring his re-election. The liberal press cannot afford their present policy of fence sitting, for they are playing the reactionary foe's game of divide and conquer.

However, the liberal press dare not cease its constructive criticism of the President and his administration in attempting continually to lead the people in a louder and more insistent demand for more and more win-the-war acts on the part of the administration. We cannot afford to give the State Department comfort by lack of criticism of their anti-win-the-war stratagems. We must voice our disapproval of speeches such as that of Ambassador Hayes to the oppressed Spanish people, praising their very oppressor and in the name of the American people. Speeches such as that surely cannot convey to the peoples of Europe the true democratic spirit with which we are fighting the fascist enemy. It is up to the liberal press to lead the people in a vigorous campaign urging upon President Roosevelt the need for the removal of these appeaser elements from within the administration.

Certainly it is difficult to urge, in the press, the adoption by the President of certain win-the-war reforms without appearing to attack the President himself; yet that is the very task confronting the entire liberal press. We must not shirk our democratic duty of urging reform where reform is necessary, especially where these reforms affect the outcome of the present conflict. In the final analysis we recognize that all reforms are in actuality moves in the direction of hastening the doom of the fascist enemy, but we must be practical and urge more strongly only the more urgent of these reforms.

The liberal press dare not allow their constructive criticism of the President to gravitate into an attack upon him, or what is just as bad: only a conditional support of the President. The at this crucial period in our history and the President cannot afford to lose the support of the liberal press if he is to maintain some vestige of liberality in the administration. We must all work together toward the speedy defeat of the fascist enemy and the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Hoboken, N. J. JEROME BALTER.
Stevens Institute of Technology.

TO NEW MASSES: It seems to me that the implications of Magil's article entitled "What About Roosevelt?" are fearful if logically followed out. He would have us drown in our own vale of tears, deprived of the right to cry out. What, after all, does I. F. Stone, the columnist, want? He has complained against the more vicious monopolists; he has complained that Roosevelt has staffed the agencies that were created to regulate with those whom they were supposed to regulate; he has complained against the undemocratic practices of the State Department; he has suggested that the war be not utilized as an excuse to scrap the New Deal program.

True there may have been little mention of coalition strategy for the second front; there certainly could have been more. But what was the underlying motive of Stone's forthright articles if not consolidating the home front in such a fashion that would make victory over the fascist enemy possible; organization in the *people's* interest so that they would be willing to fight, produce, sacrifice to the utmost? We are fighting a war for national survival. True. But history does not stand still, even though national survival does imply status quo ante. If we don't fight for progress, even midst a war to defend what we have thus far gained, then we have regression. If Roosevelt is, as Magil admits, "responsive to diverse pressures," then Stone's articles have performed an important, correct, and progressive function.

New York City.

LEON FORER.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

PAUL ROBESON'S OTHELLO

"A poetic resonance and depth of feeling never heard before in our lifetime," says Samuel Sillen of the great Negro actor's performance in Shakespeare's famous play.

PAUL ROBESON'S Othello is indescribably magnificent. He is the authentic Moor of Shakespeare's towering vision, a colossus among men, a figure of epic grandeur and of transcendent nobility and force. In his bearing, his tone, his look, Robeson invests the character with incomparable tragic dignity. He bursts through the petty dimensions of the contemporary stage, exalting the imagination, sending a profound shock of discovery through the mind. He involves us in the coils of human suffering. He reanimates a great tradition of significant and resonant speech. No artist in our lifetime has so triumphantly gripped us and torn us and raised us to the uttermost peak of awareness and compassion.

It is more than a personal triumph, it is a historic triumph that we have been privileged to witness. The deeply shaken audience that could not stop cheering the greatest people's artist of America was at the same time proclaiming an epochal event in the history of our culture. For the first time on the professional stage in America we have seen a Negro Othello. The theater that in the last century exiled Ira Aldridge has at last embraced Aldridge's successor. Shakespeare wrote about a black man, and the dramatic crux of the play is incomprehensible unless we recognize that Othello is different in color and cultural conditioning from the Venetians whose army he leads. Yet the oppressive hand of bigotry has forcibly kept black men from playing the role. October 19, 1943, is an emancipation date for the American theater. With almost unqualified unanimity and enthusiasm the critics declare that Robeson's Othello has been unsurpassed in their experience. Not only are we seeing our first Negro Othello, but perhaps our greatest Othello.

Let us not fail to note the circumstances that surround this great event. It takes place near the end of our second year of war against a national enemy who commits his savageries under the banner of racial superiority. It takes place at a time when in our own country schoolhouses are being closed to colored children. But the people are beginning to raise their own banners. Robeson's Othello is a glorious standard raised by democratic America in defiance of Nazism, just as it is a shattering rebuke, a creative challenge to Jim-Crow, the helpmate of Nazism in this land. If the glad tidings were relayed by the OWI to Asia, Africa, and the other continents, they would evoke more joy and confidence than libraries of abstractions. In the bleak hamlet of a poll-tax state the news rekindles aspiration. Among our thoughtful troops at the front it stimulates a new sense of fraternity. For this event, the fruit of long struggle, is an assertion that victory is no longer beyond men's sight. It foreshadows the more civilized future.

OF ALL Shakespeare's plays, *Othello* has been most abused by later interpreters, whether on the stage or in the study. It is therefore most fortunate that this production has been conceived and directed by the most intelligent Shakespearean student of our theater, Margaret Webster. She has repudiated the timidities and distortions that have muffled the essential meaning of the play. In her version she has brilliantly illustrated the ideas treated in her recent volume *Shakespeare Without Tears*. She has utilized all the resources of Shakespearean scholarship at the same time that she has directed her appeal to the living audience in the theater today. Miss Webster's somewhat condensed two-act version is authoritative without being pedantic, and it is excellent theater without resorting to frivolous tampering for the sake of trivial effects. The production has great integrity. It is dominated by an idea, and it achieves a sense of dedication to an idea.

This idea has nothing in common with the conventional and utterly erroneous idea that *Othello* is primarily a play of sexual jealousy. The fact is that Othello is by nature the least jealous of men. To him it is quite incredible that one should "follow still the changes of the moon with fresh suspicions." He is generous, magnanimous. He is easy prey for "honest" Iago, for his is a trusting nature which cannot easily ascribe to others the ignoble sentiments which he has not himself experienced. He resists Iago's insinuations of Desdemona's infidelity until, as it seems to him, clear proof has been produced. And when he is convinced, he does not nurse any emotion resembling jealousy. For critics to quote Shakespeare's alleged views on the green-eyed monster jealousy is like the schoolmaster's quotation in Joyce's *Ulysses* to the effect that Shakespeare said "Put money in thy purse." In both instances it is not Shakespeare talking but the least scrupulous villain in all literature, Iago.

Othello's torment is rather that of a man who, far from doubting, has great faith in those he loves. He suffers the shock of a profound disillusionment. Chaos is indeed come again when the woman who alone could persuade him to give up his "unhoused free condition," the woman whose love had become the meaning of his whole life proves unfaithful. It is of course a terrible irony that he, who could smother a life that was dearer than his own, acted under the illusion of deceit—an illusion shrewdly manufactured by the shrewdest of deceivers. His soul and body had been ensnared. Even at the very end he finds the perfidy of "that demi-devil" scarcely comprehensible, and before dying he cannot resist asking "Why?"

WHAT Iago appeals to in Othello is not so much sexual jealousy as his consciousness of difference in color. Othello had known the true worth of a Desdemona who was willing to "trumpet to the world" her love for the black man. Desdemona had seen "Othello's visage in his mind." Her heart had become subdued even to the very quality of the man she had married despite her father's opinion that such marriage was "Against all rules of nature." To Othello, who himself saw people's visages in their minds, Desdemona was not only "gentle" but a "warrior." His love for his wife was not due, as he insists, to appetite; he wishes only to be "free and bounteous to her mind." He loved her whole character, which was capable of breaking with the conventional conception that intermarriage marks "foul disproportion."

But there remains an element of insecurity which Iago most astutely plays upon. Iago insinuates that a white Venetian woman cannot for long be faithful to a black Moor. As Margaret Webster puts the point in *Shakespeare Without Tears:* "It is very apparent, and vital to the play, that Othello himself was very conscious of these same considerations and quiveringly aware of what the judgment of the world would be upon his marriage. It is one of the most potent factors in his acceptance of the possibility of Desdemona's infidelity. And she herself loses much in the quality

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of her steadfastness and courage if it be supposed that she simply married against her father's wishes a man who chanced to be a little darker than his fellows, instead of daring a marriage which would cause universal condemnation among the ladies of polite society. To scamp this consideration in the play is to deprive Othello of his greatest weakness, Desdemona of her highest strength, Iago of his skill and judgment, Emilia of a powerful factor in her behavior both to her master and her mistress, and Venice itself of an arrogance in toleration which was one of the principal hallmarks of its civilization—a civilization which frames first and last, the soaring emotions of the play."

In the present production this consideration is not "scamped" but placed in its right perspective and given its right emphasis. It is a play primarily of a vast human injustice. Othello's injustice to Desdemona is only a part of the great injustice which has been done to him and in which he himself has unwittingly collaborated. Iago is the evil instrument of that injustice, and it is highly significant that Iago is throughout the play a cynical and embittered hater of the black "thick lips." He must admit to himself, since this is the key to his strategy, that "The Moor is of free and open nature, that thinks men honest that but seem to be so." But recognizing for his own purposes Othello's virtues, he pours on him constantly the epithets that we associate with the poisoned minds of racists. To him Othello is an "erring barbarian," a "Barbary horse."

The treatment of Iago in the present production is excellent. He is not the cloven-hoofed villain of stage convention. When he appears with Othello, he is exasperatingly smooth, and there is little reason for the general to doubt that he is "honest." His motives require no dissertations. He hates Othello because Cassio was preferred to him in the matter of a military appointment. He is inordinately conscious of money, and he succeeds in putting Roderigo's in his own purse. He hates the nobility of the Moor as he despises his color. It is perfectly true, of course, that in a production where Iago overshadows Othello, one would feel the absence of a more detailed and profound motivation for his extravagant villainy. But this is only one of the proofs that Shakespeare did not intend Iago to steal the show from Othello, as he has done in so many inferior productions. Shakespeare's main effort is to explain Othello. The evil of Iago is more or less the given, the assumed, premise in the play; it is Othello who undergoes change, not Iago, and it is in Othello that we properly seek—and find—the basic psychological motivations of the drama.

In the conflict between Othello and Iago there is a gigantic contrast between the world of moral elevation and the world of moral nihilism. The one is devoted to principle and large purpose; for the other, a dynamo of calculating egotism, virtue is a fig. The one exalts love and duty; the other defines character as doing homage to oneself, lining one's own coat, serving one's "peculiar end." This mortal struggle of values is brilliantly defined by Robeson's Othello and Jose Ferrer as Iago.

Incapable of dissembling, the Othello we see is a man who genuinely expresses a tremendous range of human feeling. We see his powerful inward resentment when aspersions are cast on his color; the authoritative dignity with which he commands men to put up their swords; the towering indignation of his rebuke to Cassio. He has humor, as in his account of his wooing of Desdemona. Whether in a word or an embrace, his affection for Desdemona is sensitively registered. When his mind becomes racked with doubt and disillusionment, his contradictory emotions are expressed with subtle shading, yet simultaneously. He is neither the excessively restrained nor the excessively violent Othello of tradition. When he treats Desdemona as a strumpet, we see his tough exterior belied by his inner grief. There is terrific tension in the last scene when the world comes crashing down on him at the same time that he is flooded with understanding. And in all the scenes he speaks with a poetic resonance and depth of feeling that has simply never been heard before in our lifetime. Robeson does not act Othello; he is Othello.

Ferrer's Iago is a subtle and plastic performance. He is, as he should be, lithe, arrogant, cynical. He is an architect of hypocrisy, the conscious actor, even, as one feels, when he has only himself for an audience. He shrewdly communicates his delight in the success of his intrigue. We never for a moment question, as sometimes we do in reading the play, his ability to gull every character, adjusting himself to all temperaments and feeding on their weaknesses.

There are other fine performances. Margaret Webster's Emilia gives stature to that worldly but loyal and earnest com-

Paul Robeson as Othello

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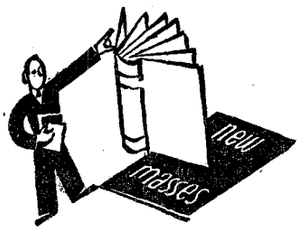

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panion of Desdemona. Uta Hagen's Desdemona is gentle, incorruptible, but a little too highly keyed. James Monks' Cassio projects the looseness and genial irresponsibility of Othello's lieutenant, but overplays, I think, his youthful glamour. An interesting portrayal of Roderigo by Jack Manning stresses his foppishness with humorous effects that delight the audience without jarring. Edith King is a buxom Bianca and Averell Harris an aggrieved Brabantio.

The designing and lighting by Robert Edmond Jones are appropriately simple, but they effectively suggest the dignity of the council chamber in Venice, the almost oriental splendor of Cyprus, and the tragic dimness of the bedroom scene. The Elizabethan balance between simple settings and splendid costume is properly maintained. The magnificent robes which Mr. Jones has designed for Robeson are in keeping with the great stature and gravity of the part. The use of the curtain to form an outer stage makes for speedy timing without making the modern playgoer too conscious of the artifice.

That Shakespeare was not of an age but for all time has never been demonstrated more movingly on the American stage. The combination of circumstances has been close to perfect. A great Negro artist as Othello; an English-born actor and Shakespearean student as director; a gifted artist born in Puerto Rico giving a subtle portrait as Iago—this is the very form and pressure of universality in our own day. For the masses of people in America and throughout the world who love and honor Paul Robeson there is matter for pride in this event. It has the scope and grandeur of a Shostakovich Victory Symphony. The product of years of aspiration, it comes into being in the midst of a people's war which it helps to sustain. We treasure the event. We mark it as a birthdate. We carry on from here, lifted by Paul Robeson to a height from which new and vast horizons of a creative people's culture endlessly unfold.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Katherine Dunham's Revue

NIGHTLY, at the Martin Beck Theater, and for the next fortnight, Katherine Dunham and a company of thirteen present a "tropical revue" ranging from early fertility rites to modern boogie-woogie. Miss Dunham, a gifted and beautiful Negro dancer, found source material for her program in the West Indies. Subsidized by a Julius Rosenwald fellowship, she engaged in original and scholarly research in the folk art and dance of her people. But sex pays off better on Broadway than scholarship. The dancer's studies have been touched up for this occasion just enough to conform to more popular conceptions of "primitive" dancing and "uninhibited" jazz.

Katherine Dunham and her troupe have what it takes, and the audience takes and likes what it gets—hot music, rhumbas, boleros, the juba, cakewalk, early ragtime and tap. The troupe dances with gusto and warmth; the roguish physical interplay seems disarmingly spontaneous. The supporting performers are, many of them, excellent: Roger Ohardieno, Lucille Ellis, Laverne French, Lavinia Williams. There are moments of earthy dignity in "*Rites de Passage*," as there is sly charm in "Bahiana" and good-natured horseplay in "Woman with a Cigar." No doubt about it, the program is popular and successful—of merit equally for topnotch night clubs and for topnotch impressario S. Hurok, who has sponsored the best—from Isadora Duncan to Marian Anderson.

Miss Dunham's recitals several years ago set an enviable standard for authenticity and impeccable taste. It is no news that Broadway is not exacting on either score. So it is perhaps to Miss Dunham's credit as a hard-working professional that she is able to take her supposedly esoteric art out of its concert setting and on to the revue stage, precisely by yielding a little here and a little there. At least, it has guaranteed good box-office.

P.S. The Leonard Ware trio has a spot on the program. It's terrific!

THE Ballet Theater has opened its fall season at the Metropolitan Opera House. As always, there is a wide choice of program and many ballets worth seeing and reseeing.

It's regrettable that some system similar to the popular-priced orchestra subscription series at Carnegie Hall cannot be set up by the ballet companies—so many Thursday nights or Saturday matinees at such and such a reduced price, giving dance enthusiasts with not too much money an opportunity for regular attendance. This would spare a number of people the tedious job of trying to select the perfect program from a varied repertoire of more than a score of works.

If you're planning to take your man-on-leave to the ballet within the next few weeks, the following guide might prove useful (new works this season will be reviewed in a later issue):

Good, modern theatrical ballets: "Pillar of Fire," "Billy the Kid," "Lilac Garden." See "Pillar of Fire" by all means—a great ballet masterpiece.

Classic works of great beauty: "Swan Lake," "Princess Aurora," "Giselle," "Sylphides." It's too bad that the greatest ballerina in America today, Markova, has been forced out by illness for the remainder of the season. "Swan Lake" is something special with her.

Character and folk dancing of sorts: "Petrouchka" (still great, despite shabby performances), "Pictures of Goya," "Capriccio Espagnole," "Aleko," "Peter and the Wolf."

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Spoofing and divertissement: "Gala Performance," "Three Virgins and a Devil," "Bluebeard," "Helen of Troy," "Mme. Angot" (new). "Mme. Angot" is a pretty messy piece of confectionery by Massine—French pastry without rhyme or reason—not recommended, but included for the record. FRANCIS STEUBEN.

Two Films

WITH all its limitations, *Behind the Rising Sun* makes an honorable stab at a difficult subject. RKO could have gone wrong in any number of ways. It might have tossed off a typical Hearst editorial in celluloid, then turned over the job to the make-up department and let it go at that. But *Behind the Rising Sun* is not "yellow peril" merchandise. The film could have been keyed to support Senator "Happy" Chandler's political fabrications, but again, this is not the case.

Instead, the studio and scriptwriter Emmet Lavery tried to arrive at valid conclusions concerning one of our country's enemies—Japan. Without recourse to racist invective, we are shown a land of feudal outlook and organization dominated by the army and navy cliques and the great family trusts—the Zaibatsu. A land wherein the vast majority of the population struggles along on sub-subsistence level, making commonplace the sale of one's children to the factory owners or into prostitution. And emperor worship is the overriding fraud whereby the loyalty of the Japanese masses is secured—"the near-sighted man on the white horse," as the film describes him. Japan even had its liberals, but the film shows the army rubbing them out as a necessary step in its plans for world conquest.

Taro (Tom Neal), scion of a prominent Japanese family, has just returned from America. To the embarrassment of his father, Seki (J. Carrol Naish), he exhibits such American traits as the desire to make his own way without assistance, and what is more unforgivable, falls in love with Tama (Margo), whose family is practically of the untouchables. Fortunately for Seki, the war with China intervenes and Taro is called up for service. From that point onward Taro's degeneration is rapid. At first he winces at some of the lesser barbarities of the Emperor's children such as the distribution of opium, falsely labeled as food. He is reminded by his superior officer that the distribution of opium is a very mild business compared to what the Germans are doing in Poland. He adds with typical fascist humor that perhaps there are Poles who could stand a little forgetfulness. Besides, the wide use of opium permits one to hold a village with a mere handful of soldiers. Taro doesn't hold out very long. Soon he is issuing orders that Chinese women submit to the embraces of the invader.

Then comes Pearl Harbor and for some reason Taro's father realizes the errors of his philosophy. Shortly after, Taro meets well-deserved death and Seki commits hara-kiri. Finis. These are his last words: "To whatever gods there may be in the world. Destroy us as we have destroyed others. Destroy us before it is too late." However, the fact that Seki is none other than Japanese Minister of Propaganda at the time doesn't help make his conversion any too plausible.

To be sure, *Behind the Rising Sun* is no great shakes of a picture. There's a liberal percentage of corn in its facture, as perhaps the outline of its plot has already indicated. And there is a decided softness of focus on the inner-Axis connections between Germany and Japan. They are presented as pursuing similar but parallel, rather than interdependent courses. Nevertheless, all circumscription considered, the film adds up to something on the honest side.

AMONG the many failings of this reviewer is that he never forgets a joke, even a bad one, and what's worse, always repeats it. Take the following, which appeared in the "humor" column of the *Etude* magazine, June 1912: Music critic to young aspiring composer: "What a misnomer to call your opera *The Haunted Tower*. There was no spirit in it from beginning to end."

Thirty-one years we've waited in vain to get that one off and, at long last, up pops *Phantom of the Opera* (Universal Pictures, starring Nelson Eddy, Suzanne Foster, Claude Rains). Of course, the Lon Chaney version (circa 1929) might have served as well, but we weren't in the reviewing business at the time. But apart from the fact that the *new Phantom* reminds the reviewer how early in life he started to collect witticisms, the film has other qualities to recommend it. There's its verbal freshness. Sample: "Mademoiselle, tonight we dine at the Cafe de l'Opera." Another: Leo Carillo (vocal coach to Suzanne Foster, his pupil): "Mademoiselle, I'm disappointed in your voice today. If some man is disturbing you, pitch him out of your life."

Then there's its musical novelty—two Chopin piano waltzes scored for solo baritone, coloratura, full chorus, and orchestra. Said work appears under the title of *La Gloire et l'Amour*, the idea being to convince the audience they're hearing French. You will not want to forego Nelson Eddy's purple sideburns, and will take inordinate delight in the film's story which is overgrown with the plushiest moss and the prettiest barnacles you ever saw. *Phantom* manages to create a new shudder—Claude Rains as violinist. The camera is absolutely ruthless—bloodcurdling insistence on showing each grimace and wriggle.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

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NOVELS AND OTHERWISE

A roundup of recent books, including "Only an Inch from Glory," by Albert Halper; "Retreat from Rostov"; "Sister Kenny."

Static Combat

ONLY AN INCH FROM GLORY, *by Albert Halper. Harper. $2.50.*

GREENWICH VILLAGE is the scene of this novel, and the time is the present. But the atmosphere of the early thirties hangs over the novel, and Halper's characters seem to belong to the Village of ten years or so ago. It is November 1941, Halper tells us, yet one feels that Frank and Dorothy caught the New York train too late to make the story of their frustrations seem anything more than a discordant echo of an earlier day in the Village. Perhaps that was what Halper wanted—a story about people who haven't quite caught up with the present, people, perhaps, who can't catch up. But how can we share his great compassion for them unless we become sentimental about them too?

The novel is easy reading, filled with genial, observant writing about the everyday life of four people who live in and around the Village. Many familiar spots are named; others may be quickly recognized under a conventional verbal disguise. But though the Village is contemporary, the way these people live is out of joint with the times. The loneliness of one-room-and-kitchenette existence, solitary binges, occasional parties with their aftermaths of self-distrust and self-loathing, episodes in which the studio couch is the inevitable stage prop —these are the commonplace landmarks in the history of unhappy migrants to the Village, like Frank and Dorothy. To slip through them again may be boring, may provoke nostalgia, or may prove exciting—but, whatever their effect upon the reader, they certainly emphasize the insufficiency of this kind of living. And it's no tonic to the reader to feel that they are feebly struggling to get beyond this.

In its structure, the novel—on the surface, a straightforward story, told with an eye toward building suspense, but not too much—is based on an arbitrary set of character relationships. Frank and Dorothy make a pair; both of them have yet to square their illusions with reality, though Frank has incorporated his medieval devotion to Dorothy into a low-keyed stoicism —a passive acceptance of whatever life brings him. And Dorothy's character is prejudged through Frank's affection—her misty attractiveness to Frank, however, is a transparent glass to the reader. The best defined, the clearest character in the story is Sam Glaubman, who is unsparingly revealed as a capricious, unpleasant egoist, whose only virtue in getting to understand himself seems to be a reproach to his character when he is compared to the softened sensibilities of Frank and Dorothy. Sam reaches self-knowledge, but Dorothy is wiped off the pages in a wild burst of melodramatic sentimentality. So the story winds up in the tabloids, and no coherent pattern emerges from the character relationships.

Perhaps there is a cautionary value in Halper's reminding us that many "good" people exhaust their energies in trying to achieve some kind of equilibrium in their personal lives. Of people like himself Frank can say, "It took a Brahms Fourth, or a war, or a personal tragedy to shake us out of ourselves. We weren't complacent, or smug, or unaware of the fight for bread. We ourselves struggled! And yet ours was such a static combat." But isn't it a somewhat clouded vision which must now read, as tragic truth, that the "little people" are helpless people? Certainly there are more profound meanings to be found today in what those who are most obscure in our vision are learning in their daily struggles. If Frank is sinking back into his apathy, there are others who are coming forward with a glowing recognition that life does lie ahead.

ALAN BENOIT.

Built on Sand

RETREAT FROM ROSTOV, *by Paul Hughes. Random House. $2.75.*

ONLY a few of our leading authors have written about this war, and none has attempted anything so ambitious as *Retreat from Rostov*. In this first novel Paul Hughes writes about the battle for Rostov where the Red Army scored the first major victory of this war. The title includes both the Russian and German retreats and thus indicates the span of the novel to cover the thirty-four days of battle from both sides of the line. The action is related in terms of German and Russian characters, both real and imaginary, and two American correspondents. They are involved in a variety of incidents which are coordinated with military maneuvers and a mass of historical data.

Ambitious is a weak adjective for an attempt to synthesize these elements. In scope and design *Retreat from Rostov* is epic. Its purpose is to reveal the nature of this war and to prefigure its inevitable conclusion. For a young author the attempt is so audacious and the diverse material is so firmly, if not skillfully, controlled that one would like to praise the novel. But Mr. Hughes has failed in his purpose. Although he has written some vivid descriptions of battle, and although he has created incidents which suggest the degradation of the Nazis and the courage and dignity of the Russians, nowhere does he give evidence that he understands the nature of the war or of the societies and peoples involved.

There is little to characterize this invading force as a German fascist army. In mass it is too vaguely described, especially in defeat, to exhibit the highly mechanized power of the German army that dive-bombed and blitzed its way through Poland and drove hundreds of miles into the Soviet Union. And there are no overt acts to show the concentrated savagery of fascist armies that perpetrated the mass slaughters at Kharkov, Lidice, and numerous other places. Here the round-up and slaughter of civilians is merely reported; it is not focussed with terrifying clarity.

Nowhere do we get the feeling that here is an army of brutes and fanatics thoroughly indoctrinated with fascist ideology and dedi-

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cated to the establishment of the "new order." The Germans are tired and homesick, grossly sensual, jealous of prerogative, or cynically dispassionate. They are ordinary soldiers of ordinary desires and exploits who assume an air of superiority offhandedly in the manner of most conquerors. A minor exception is the Sudeten corporal whose pride in being German is shattered by a Czech harlot. The doctrine of racial superiority is stressed only among the harlots attached to the army, a fact which places the tenet in an ironic light, but scarcely explains the havoc it creates.

It is, if anything, even harder to believe that Mr. Hughes understands the Soviet people and how they are waging this war. Although he depicts them fighting vehemently as an army, as guerrilla bands, and as individuals, he is incapable of explaining this extraordinary resistance. They fight because fighting is their job, or because of personal pride, or because their souls are mystically fused with the souls of Rostov and the Don. It is nowhere apparent that the Soviet people are fighting to defend the land which they built through collective toil and struggle.

Since he seems blind to this fact, Mr. Hughes presents the resistance largely in terms of individual whim and exploit. Idle and undirected, the few people within Rostov become active only by chance in some melodramatic incident like the machine-gunning of German officers in the Rostov Cathedral. The guerillas are not coordinated with the civil or military authorities and sometimes seem to regard the army as an ineffectual rival. A civilian and two guerillas discover the identity of a traitor in the High Command and kill him without reporting the treachery or the slaying to the army. And the army never seems to notice his absence! Conduct like this gives no sense of a united people fighting to defeat the fascist terror. Yet from many first hand accounts we know, and Mr. Hughes should know, that every aspect, every citizen of the Soviet Union is organized for total warfare and wages it with a degree of cooperation which transcends any kind of collective activity in world history.

Writing about a subject like this requires more than plotting and research—especially for one so remote as Mr. Hughes. With this ability he might have written an illuminating historical novel despite minor blunders and a literary ineptitude which results in some of the most hackneyed writing in many a day. Without intellectual and emotional comprehension *Retreat from Rostov* is pointless melodrama. At another time we might record this failure to over-ambition and immaturity and thus dismiss it gently. But this novel of major pretensions from a leading publishing house comes in the midst of the continuing war when clarity and straight-thinking are vital and even weak representation is misrepresentation.

CLIFFORD HALLAM.

The Writer's Credo

This is the credo adopted by the recent Writers' Congress in Hollywood.

PREAMBLE

IN ALL times, the guardian of the word has crystallized the truth of human experience, interpreting the heritage of the past and reflecting the form and substance of the changing present. The four decades of the twentieth century have seen an unparalleled extension of the influence of words and images; the press and radio and screen have created a mass culture which was never dreamed of in any previous period of history. The war has caused writers to re-examine these new modes of expression, to weigh their creative possibilities, and to recognize the importance of the vast new audience.

It is apparent that the skill and knowledge of the author are weapons of victory, and that every word and phrase, every image and jest, must be weighed as a service or disservice to the nation. It is no longer possible to assume that the writer's dignity is internal, and that he is responsible only to the mandate of his soul. It is no longer possible to regard the writer as a prophet who may speak with inspired unintelligibility because no one takes the trouble to listen to him.

The war has not created a new and unknown duty for the writer; it has renewed the great affirmative tradition of the written and spoken word.

THEREFORE, I as a writer recognize the responsibility of my profession and my obligation to maintain and guard the principles of the Writer's Credo.

1. *The first principle of the Writer's Credo* is the obligation to seek and find the truth. There can be no limitation on the search for truth, for the whole realm of thought and feeling is the sphere of the writer's exploration and the material from which he draws. The reporter's quick summary, the poet's winged phrase or the subtle tracing of the stream of consciousness, the long labor of the novelist, and the dispatch from the thundering battle-line—all these are aspects of human experience which are valid insofar as they add to the sum of man's wisdom and his ability to understand the vast wonder of life. Therefore: I DEDICATE MY SKILL AND TALENT TO THE SERVICE OF THE TRUTH.

2. *The second principle of the Writer's Credo* is the obligation to respect and guard freedom of expression, the right of independent faith and belief and statement. Freedom of speech and of the press, of assemblage and petition, are the birthright of the American people. But the writer is the particular custodian and beneficiary of those privileges. It is therefore my duty to protect them for myself and others, recognizing that the defense of these liberties entails an active struggle against the dark forces of bigotry and ignorance. I must be aware of the propaganda of our Axis enemies which seek to sabotage the mind through the infiltration of religious, racial, and political prejudice. I must oppose the cynical mistrust of the people that seeks to limit knowledge and restrict the freedom of schools and colleges. I must oppose the racist doctrines that pollute the free air of America, and that imprison the great creative energies of the Negro people and of other national minorities. Therefore: I DEDICATE MY SKILL AND TALENT TO THE SACRED RIGHT OF FREE EXPRESSION, AND PLEDGE MY OPPOSITION TO EVERY ATTEMPT TO BIND THE FREE SPIRIT OF MAN WITH THE CHAINS OF BIGOTRY AND IGNORANCE.

3. *The third principle of the Writer's Credo* is the obligation to understand and reflect the great optimistic unity and moral strength of the American people. The necessities of war have taught us an old and forgotten truth—a truth lost in the cynicism of the roaring twenties and the bitterness of the depression years—the truth that patriotism is a deep reality, an expression of the common man's profound and reasoned faith in our democratic way of life. We had come to regard patriotism as a familiar and undistinguished virtue. The memory of Valley Forge and Gettysburg had become dim and without power to move us. But the war has brought us a new affirmation of our tradition, a sense of the continuity of American life from Bunker Hill to Bataan, a deep community of purpose between the men who crossed the Delaware on that desperate Christmas eve in 1776 and the men who moved across the Mediterranean in the summer of 1943.

There is nothing narrowly nationalistic in this democratic faith, for the essence of democracy is its kinship with all the free people of the world. The people of the United States seek to know and understand the people of other nations, knowing that this friendship is the best guarantee of a just and lasting peace.

William Dean Howells asked the American writer to observe that "such beauty and such grandeur as we have is common beauty, common grandeur," and must be served by a "talent robust enough to front the everyday world and catch the charm of its work-worn, care-worn, brave, kindly face." Therefore I PLEDGE MYSELF TO KNOW THE THOUGHT AND FEELING OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE VARIED TASKS AND MANIFOLD UNITY—THE JUNGLE FIGHTER CREEPING TO HIS DEATH, THE FARMER PLOWING IN THE WARM TWILIGHT, THE CROWD POURING FROM THE CITY SKYSCRAPERS AND THE DAWN-WATCHERS AT LONELY OUTPOSTS. TO THESE MILLIONS, I DEDICATE MY SKILL AND TALENT, AND THE STRENGTH OF MY HEART AND MIND.

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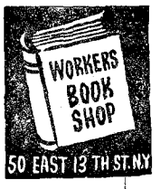

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Sister Kenny

AND THEY SHALL WALK, *by Sister Elizabeth Kenny and Martha Ostenso. Dodd, Mead and Co. $3.00.*

THIS is the fourth book by Sister (the Australian equivalent for First Lieutenant) Kenny and her collaborators which explains and states the case for her treatment of poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis). Martha Ostenso has given us the colorful plains and forests of the land from "down under" as a backdrop for a discussion of the Kenny method. Buttercups, Australian bluebells, the vast expanse of the eucalyptus forests, the gallah parrots and the duck-billed platypus of the bushland are interwoven with the study and treatment of a disease that has broken hundreds of thousands of lives and brought untold grief to millions of homes.

In the United States infantile paralysis cases this year have almost reached the record high of 9,451 in 1934. The week ending September 18 shows 1,016 cases. The epidemic, which reached its height from September 12 to September 18 and is now beginning to abate, has reached every part of the country. The total for this year alone is already 7,808 new cases. This book is not a treatise. Sister Kenny has helped thousands with her wonderful hands and she is now engaged in teaching others to carry on her work. Her theory and treatment are simple. She holds that infantile paralysis cripples because of "muscle spasm," and the sufferer cannot use these muscles because of a "mental alienation." In other words the afflicted is not stricken with a true paralysis. The essence of her treatment is gentle massage and the application of a hot-water dipped soft wool blanket.

Scientific evidence is now accumulating which says that her theory is wrong; her applicative methods fine. Doctors Schwartz and Bouman of the University of Rochester tested the muscles of infantile-paralysis victims. They conclude that a true paralysis exists; certain nerves in the spinal chord are impaired or destroyed and that spasm results from the lack of nerve impulses. Dr. Moldaver of Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons reported that some of the muscles considered by Sister Kenny to be alienated or non-functioning were found to be "in total neuromuscular degeneration." And a further report in the Sept. 25 *Journal of the American Medical Association* by Doctors Watkins, Brazier, and Schwab concluded "that the Kenny concepts of muscle involvement in this disease, although the basis of an excellent type of treatment, are inadequate as a physiologic explanation." Despite this disagreement on theory, Sister Kenny's technique and methods are an important contribution to the eradication of infantile paralysis and her book is the story of a battle

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against the die-hards and conservative elements in medicine. Sister Kenny dropped a bomb-shell into the midst of those physicians when she proposed her treatment. She has fought hard and well. She has been stubborn and persistent in her demands, based upon her excellent results. She has aroused the medical world to re-engage in the search for a method and a theory to wipe out this scourge. The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, which sponsors Sister Kenny's work, also sponsored the medical research that went into the work of the doctors mentioned above, and will continue to finance both sides till it finds out which side is right. One thing emerges from this book. Sister Kenny's methods have been successful and it is apparent that we need more than the pitifully inadequate 3,000 nurses trained in the "Kenny method." JAMES KNIGHT.

My Country, Czechoslovakia

(*Continued from page* 17)

camps in the Reich. The Nazis have stolen the wealth of the country. Czech culture has been gagged by the foreign lords and their lackeys of the Hacha and Tiso puppet governments. But the spirit of the Czech and Slovak people remains unbroken.

TODAY Czechoslovak soldiers fight on two vital fronts in the east and southeast, and in the air in the west. Czechoslovak pilots fought valiantly in the Battle of Britain, and they continue to fight now in the air battles over France and western Germany. The Czechoslovak Brigade in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of a colonel with the symbolic name Svoboda (liberty), was cited for bravery in the Soviet war communiques. And in the Partisan Army of General Tito, a Czechoslovak Battallion has made its appearance. Its commander, a former worker of the Skoda Works, Joseph Ruzicka, sent messages of greetings to President Benes in London and to the Czechoslovak Brigade in the USSR.

This battallion bears the proud name of Jan Zizka of Trocnov, hero of the revolutionary Hussite wars in the fifteenth century. It is a good name, for in the Hussite wars a united nation, rising in the first great revolutionary war of Europe at the end of the Middle Ages, defeated a manifold superior enemy who had invaded and enslaved the country. The battle cry of the Hussites, *"Pravda Vitezi"*—(The Truth Prevails) is today written on the banners of the Czechoslovak armies abroad and inscribed on the leaflets of the underground at home.

There is no doubt that the slogan will come true in a not too distant future, and that Czechoslovakia will celebrate a new glorious day of independence.

P. S. KUDRNA.

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